

5 JUNE 1987



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# ***JPRS Report***

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# **Soviet Union**

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## **KOMMUNIST**

No 3, FEBRUARY 1987

## SPECIAL NOTICE

Effective 1 June 1987 JPRS reports will have a new cover design and color, and some reports will have a different title and format. Some of the color changes may be implemented earlier if existing supplies of stock are depleted.

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The USSR REPORT: POLITICAL AND SOCIOLOGICAL AFFAIRS will be titled SOVIET UNION/POLITICAL AFFAIRS (UPA).

The following Soviet journals will be added to those which are already issued in separate series:

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5 JUNE 1987

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## SOVIET UNION

## KOMMUNIST

No 3, February 1987

[Translation of the Russian-language theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee published in Moscow 18 times per year.]

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INFORMATION REPORT ON THE 27th JANUARY 1987 CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 87 (signed to press 2 Feb 87) pp 3-4

[Text] The regular CPSU Central Committee Plenum opened on 27 January 1987. The item "On Restructuring and Party Cadre Policy" was submitted for consideration. A report on this topic was submitted by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

The participants in the plenum had had the opportunity to review in advance the theses contained in the report submitted by M.S. Gorbachev, the draft USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association) and the review of letters received from working people on restructuring and cadre policy problems.

The following participated in the debates on the report: Comrades I.K. Polozkov, first secretary of the Krasnodar CPSU Kraykom; N.N. Slyunkov, first secretary of the CP of Belorussia Central Committee; G.I. Marchuk, president of the USSR Academy of Sciences; V.I. Vorotnikov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR; V.N. Golubeva, director of the Ivanovo Textile Factory imeni S.M. Kirov; N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; V.V. Shcherbitskiy, first secretary of the CP of the Ukraine Central Committee; B.N. Yeltsin, first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Gorkom; G.A. Arbatov, director of the U.S. and Canada Institute, USSR Academy of Sciences; Yu.F. Solovyev, first secretary, Leningrad CPSU Obkom; Yu.V. Petrov, first secretary of the Sverdlovsk CPSU Obkom; and N.D. Tereshchenko, chairman of the Put k Kommunizmu Kolkhoz, Stepnovskiy Rayon, Stavropol Kray. Debates on the report submitted by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, "On Restructuring and Party Cadre Policy" continued at the CPSU Central Committee 28 January 1987 plenary meeting.

The following spoke: Comrades A.A. Gromyko, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium chairman; V.S. Kostin, head of a comprehensive brigade, Ziminka Mine, Prokopyevsk Coal Mining Production Association, Kemerovo Oblast; G.V. Kolbin, first secretary of the CP of Kazakhstan Central Committee; S.I. Manyakin, first secretary of the Omsk CPSU Obkom; G.A. Yagodin, USSR minister of higher and secondary specialized education; F.V. Popov, first secretary of the Altay CPSU Kraykom; M.S. Solomentsev, chairman of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee; V.P. Tikhomirov, turner at the Moscow Electrical Engineering Plant imeni Vladimir Illich; A.F. Ponomarev, first secretary of the Belgorod CPSU Obkom; V.M. Velichko, minister of power machine building; D.I.

Patiashvili, first secretary of the CP of Georgia Central Committee; M.A. Ulyanov, chairman of the board of the RSFSR Union of Theatre Workers; D.K. Motornyy, chairman of the Kolkhoz imeni S.M. Kirov, Belozerskiy Rayon, Kherson Oblast, UkrSSR; S.L. Sokolov, USSR minister of defense; Yu.A. Kvitsinskiy, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the USSR to the Federal Republic of Germany; F.T. Morgun, first secretary of the Poltava Obkom, CP of the Ukraine; P.P. Grishkyavichus, first secretary of the CP of Lithuania Central Committee; V.K. Mesyats, first secretary of the Moscow CPSU Obkom; I.B. Usmankhodzhayev, first secretary of the CP of Uzbekistan Central Committee; V.I. Dolgikh, CPSU Central Committee secretary; A.M. Masaliyev, first secretary of the CP of Kirghizia Central Committee; and V.I. Sitnikov, first secretary of the Irkutsk CPSU Obkom. A concluding speech was delivered by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary.

The plenum adopted an expanded decree on the topic under discussion, which was published in the press.

The plenum deemed expedient to approve as a basis a draft USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association), with a view to its subsequent submission to nation-wide discussion.

The CPSU Central Committee Plenum discussed organizational problems.

The plenum elected Comrade N.N. Slyunkov, CPSU Central Committee secretary, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member.

The plenum elected Comrade A.N. Yakovlev, CPSU Central Committee secretary, CPSU Central Committee Politburo candidate member.

The plenum elected Comrade A.I. Lukyanov CPSU Central Committee secretary.

The decision was adopted to release Comrade D.A. Kunayev from his duties and CPSU Central Committee Politburo member for reasons of retirement.

The plenum released Comrade M.V. Zimyanin from his duties as CPSU Central Committee secretary, for reasons of retirement for health reasons.

This concluded the proceedings of the CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

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ON RESTRUCTURING AND PARTY CADRE POLICY. REPORT BY M.S. GORBACHEV, CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE GENERAL SECRETARY, AT THE 27 JANUARY 1987 CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 87 (signed to press 2 Feb 87) pp 5-47

[Text] Comrades:

The 27th Party Congress has entrusted us, Central Committee members, with the greatest possible responsibility of ensuring the implementation of the strategic course of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. It is precisely thus that the Politburo views the situation and the role played by the Central Committee at this stage in the life of Soviet society.

Accordingly, a question of prime importance to the successful implementation of the political strategy formulated at the April 1985 Central Committee Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress--the question of restructuring and party and cadre policy--has been submitted for discussion by this plenum. We must consider it on a broad sociopolitical level, with the lessons of the past, the nature of the present and the tasks of the future in mind.

The April Plenum and the 27th Party Congress opened the way to an objective and critical analysis of the situation which had developed in the society and adopted decisions of historical importance to the destinies of the country. We have irrevocably undertaken the restructuring and taken the first steps in that direction.

If we were to sum up the overall political result, we could confidently say that major changes are taking place in the life of Soviet society and positive trends are gathering strength.

On the eve of the plenum, I, other Politburo members and Central Committee secretaries held numerous meetings and talks with members of the Central Committee, public figures, workers, kolkhoz members, intellectuals, veterans and young people. Their overall mood and the sense of their statements were simple: firmly follow the line of renovation of our society and intensify efforts in all areas.

The Central Committee deems it important that the political line of the 27th Congress, the practical activities for its implementation and the restructuring itself have earned the broad support of the workers, of the entire Soviet people. To a ruling party, comrades, this is the most important thing.

Nevertheless, we can see that changes for the better are taking place slowly, that the restructuring has turned out to be more difficult and the reasons for the problems which had appeared in society deeper than we had imagined previously. The deeper we go into restructuring the clearer its scale and significance become and ever new unsolved problems remaining from the past become apparent.

The main assessment of the status of the society and the conclusions drawn on its basis by the Politburo were already reported at the 27th Party Congress and the Central Committee Plenums. They are being fully confirmed. Today, however, we know more, for which reason we must look once again, and thoroughly, at the origins of the existing situation and to understand the reasons for what took place in the country at the turn of the 1980s.

Such a study is necessary in order to prevent a repetition of the errors and to implement the resolutions of the congress, to which the future of our people and the fate of socialism are linked, all the more so since in both the society and the party itself a certain lack of comprehension of the difficulty of the situation in which the country found itself remains. Obviously, this also explains the fact that a number of comrades have had questions on the steps taken by the Politburo and the government in the course of the restructuring. The question is frequently asked: Are we taking too sharp a turn?

We must be entirely clear on all vitally important problems, including this one. It is only profound familiarity with the state of affairs that will enable us to find the true ways of solving the difficult problems.

Generally speaking, comrades, there is a pressing need to return to the study of the problems which were encountered by the party and Soviet society in the final years which preceded the April CPSU Central Committee Plenum. The experience acquired in the more than 18 months which have passed since that time have strengthened our resolve to intensify this study, to understand the reasons for negative processes, to formulate the steps which will accelerate our progress, to ensure us against a repetition of errors and to let us go forward and only forward, proving through action the ability of constant self-advancement which is organically inherent in socialism.

The Politburo considers that this plenum must be held precisely on the basis of such an approach.

#### I. Restructuring Is an Objective Necessity

Comrades! Our plenum is being held during the year of the anniversary of the Great October Revolution. Only 7 decades ago the Leninist party hoisted over the country the victorious banner of the socialist revolution and the struggle

for socialism, freedom, equality, social justice and social progress and against oppression, exploitation, poverty and national rightlessness.

For the first time in world history the working man, his interests and needs, became the focal point of state policy. The Soviet Union achieved truly historical successes in its political, economic, social and spiritual development in the course of building socialism. Under the party's leadership the Soviet people built socialism, defeated fascism in the Great Patriotic War, rebuilt and strengthened the national economy and made a great power of their homeland.

Our achievements are tremendous and unquestionable, and the Soviet people are justifiably proud of their successes. These successes are the firm foundation for the implementation of our present plans and future designs. However, the party must see life in its entirety and complexity. Any, even the greatest accomplishments, should not conceal contradictions in the development of society or our errors and omissions.

We have spoken of this in the past and must repeat it again today: at a given stage the country began to falter in its progress. Difficulties and unsolved problems began to accumulate and stagnation and other phenomena alien to socialism appeared. All of this had a serious impact on the economy and the social and spiritual areas.

Naturally, comrades, the country's development did not come to a stop. Tens of millions of Soviet people worked honestly; many party organizations and our cadres acted energetically, in the interest of the people. All such efforts were held back by the growth of negative processes which, however, were unable to stop them.

Objectively, in the economy and in other areas the need for change was becoming ripe. However, it was not implemented in the political and practical activities of the party and the state.

What was the reason for this difficult and conflicting situation?

The main reason, something which the Politburo deems necessary to state at the plenum with total frankness, was that above all by virtue of subjective reasons the CPSU Central Committee and the country's leadership were unable to assess promptly and to their fullest extent the need for change and the threat presented by the growth of crisis phenomena in society and to formulate an efficient policy to surmount them and make fuller use of the possibilities of the socialist system.

Conservative moods, inertia, the tendency to ignore anything which did not fit ordinary plans and unwillingness to solve pressing socioeconomic problems predominated in the formulation of policy and in practical work.

Comrades, the leading party and state bodies bear the responsibility for all of this.

The extent to which vital problems, contradictions, social trends and prospects were realized greatly depended on the condition and development of theoretical thinking and the prevailing atmosphere on the theoretical front.

Lenin's stipulation that the value of theory lies in the accurate depiction "of all contradictions which occur in life" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 4, p 78) was frequently simply ignored. Theoretical concepts about socialism were kept largely on the level of the 1930s and 1940s, a time when society was engaged in solving entirely different problems. Developing socialism, the dialectics of its motive forces and contradictions and the real condition of the society were not made topics of profound scientific studies.

The reasons for this situation go far into the past. They are rooted in the specific historical situation in which, by virtue of familiar circumstances, live discussions and creative thinking were eliminated from theory and social science, while authoritative assessments and judgments became unquestionable truths which could only be commented upon.

A certain absolutizing of forms of social organization, which had developed in practice, took place. Furthermore, essentially, such concepts were identified with the essential features of socialism. They were considered permanent and presented as dogmas, which left no room for objective scientific analysis. A frozen image of socialist production relations developed and their dialectical interaction with production forces was underestimated. Society's social structure was depicted schematically, as though deprived of contradictions and of the dynamism generated by the variety of interests of its different strata and groups.

The Leninist concepts of socialism were interpreted simplistically. Their theoretical depth and significance were frequently emasculated. This applied also to key problems, such as public ownership, relations among classes and national groups, the measure of labor and consumption, cooperation, economic management methods, democracy and self-government, struggle against bureaucratic distortions, the revolutionary-transforming nature of socialist ideology, principles of training and upbringing, and guarantees ensuring the healthy development of the party and society.

Superficial concepts of communism and various types of prophecies and abstract judgments gained some popularity. In turn, this lowered the historical significance of socialism and weakened the influence of socialist ideology.

This kind of attitude toward theory could not fail to have an adverse effect--which is indeed what happened--on the social sciences and their role in society. It is a fact, comrades, that all kinds of scholastic theorizing, which did not affect anyone's interests and vital problems was frequently even encouraged in our country while efforts at a constructive analysis and promotion of new ideas met with no support.

The situation on the theoretical front adversely affected the solution of practical problems. Decades on end obsolete methods were retained in economic management and administration; conversely, some efficient economic

methods were groundlessly rejected. At the same time, relations inconsistent with the actual level of social maturity and, in frequent cases, conflicting with its nature, were instilled in production and distribution. Essentially production and labor incentive were oriented toward quantitative and extensive development.

Special mention should be made of socialist property. Control over how it was managed and by whom was seriously weakened. It was frequently corroded by departmentalism and parochialism, somehow becoming "nobody's," free, without actual owner, and in numerous cases, began to be used for the extraction of unearned income.

An improper attitude developed toward cooperative ownership, which was depicted as "second rate" and without a future. All of this had serious consequences in agrarian and social policy and led to a bureaucratic administration of relations with kolkhozes and to the closing down of craft cooperatives. Serious errors were also made in the attitude toward private auxiliary plots and individual labor activity. This as well caused a great deal of economic and social damage.

Major deformations piled up in planning. The authority of the plan as the main tool of economic policy was undermined by a subjectivistic approach, imbalance, instability and the aspiration to cover absolutely everything, including petty matters, and by the abundance of decisions of a sectorial and regional nature made despite the plan and frequently regardless of actual possibilities. Plans frequently lacked scientific substantiation. They were not aimed at establishing efficient national economic ratios or paying proper attention to the development of the social sphere and the solution of many strategic problems.

The result was that the tremendous advantages of the socialist economic management system, its planned aspect above all, were used inefficiently. This led to increased irresponsibility, and the invention of a variety of bureaucratic rules and instructions. Bureaucratic administration, ostentatious efficiency and paper shuffling replaced live work.

Prejudices concerning the role of commodity-monetary relations and the effect of the law of value and, frequently, directly opposing them to socialism as being something alien to it, led to voluntaristic approaches in the economy, to underestimating cost accounting, wage "equalization" and subjective price-setting, violations of monetary circulation rules and lack of attention to problems of regulating supply and demand.

Restricting the cost accounting rights of enterprises and associations had particularly difficult consequences. It undermined the foundations of material incentive, hindered high end results, lowered the labor and social activeness of the people and worsened discipline and order.

Essentially, an entire system of weakening the economic instruments of the system developed; a kind of mechanism for hindering socioeconomic development and progressive change, which made the identification and utilization of the advantages of socialism possible, was established. The roots of this

hindrance lay in major shortcomings in the functioning of the institutions of socialist democracy and in obsolete and occasionally unrealistic political and theoretical concepts and a conservative management mechanism.

All of this, comrades, adversely affected the development of many areas of social life. Take material production. Over the past 15 years the growth rates of the national economy declined by more than one half. Plans for most indicators had not been fulfilled since the beginning of the 1970s. As a whole, the economy became cumbersome and unreceptive to new developments; the quality of a considerable share of the output was no longer consistent with contemporary requirements. Production disproportions became aggravated.

Less attention was paid to the development of machine building. Scientific research and experimental design fell behind the needs of the national economy and failed to meet requirements regarding its technical reconstruction. Excessive and by no means always justified purchases of equipment and many other commodities were made on the capitalist market.

The negative processes had a serious effect on the social area, the condition of which has already been assessed at the 27th Party Congress. During the recent 5-year periods the social trend of the economy was clearly weakened; a kind of deafness to social problems developed. We see its results today. Having successfully solved problems of population employment and provided basic social guarantees, we were unable at that time fully to utilize the possibilities of socialism in improving housing, food supplies, transportation, medical services and education, and solve many other vital problems.

There were violations of the most important socialist principle of distribution according to labor. The struggle against unearned income was waged indecisively. The policy of material and moral incentive for highly productive labor was unsystematic. Major funds were distributed in unjustified bonuses along with various additional incentives, and figure paddings was tolerated for the sake of profit. Parasitical moods increased and the mentality of "equalization" began to sink roots in the minds of the people. This was a blow for all working people who could and wanted to work better, while easing the life of those who liked to take it easy in their jobs.

Violating the organic link between the measure of labor and consumption not only deforms the attitude toward labor and hinders the growth of its productivity but also distorts the principle of socialist justice. This is a question of major political significance.

The elements of social corrosion which appeared in recent years adversely affected the spiritual mood of society, somehow imperceptibly distorting the high moral values which have always been inherent in our people and of which we are proud--ideological convictions, labor enthusiasm and Soviet patriotism.

The inevitable consequence of this was a declining interest in social affairs, manifestations of lack of spirituality and skepticism, and a decline in the role of moral labor incentives. A stratum of people, some of them young,

whose purpose in life became reduced to material well-being and profit by any means, increased. Their cynical stance assumed increasingly militant forms, poisoning the minds of those around them and triggering a wave of consumerism. Increased drunkenness, the spreading of drug addiction and a higher crime rate were indicators of the decline of social mores.

Scoffing at the laws, whitewashing, bribery, and encouraging toadiness and glorification had a nefarious influence on the moral atmosphere in society. True concern for the people and their living and working conditions and social pride were frequently replaced with making political advances, and the mass distribution of awards, titles and bonuses. An atmosphere of general forgiveness developed, and exigency, discipline and responsibility declined.

In frequent cases major shortcomings in ideological and political upbringing were concealed behind ostentatious measures and campaigns, and celebrations of numerous anniversaries in the central and local areas. Increasingly, a disparity developed between the world of everyday realities and that of ostentatious well-being.

The ideology and mentality of stagnation were also reflected on the state of culture, literature and the arts. Criteria in assessing artistic creativity were lowered. The result was that alongside works which raised serious sociomoral problems and reflected real life clashes, a number of mediocre and featureless works came out, which enriched neither the mind nor the feelings. The penetration of stereotypes of bourgeois mass culture, which promoted baseness, primitive tastes and lack of spirituality, intensified.

At this point, we must mention the responsibility of our ideological departments, editors of art journals, heads of creative associations, literary critics, the literary workers themselves and men of arts for the ideological and artistic trends in the creative process and the moral health of the people.

The activities of the creative associations lacked principle-mindedness, exigency and real concern for developing and encouraging talent. In frequent cases problems of prime importance concerning the situation in culture were left without proper attention by the associations' leaderships. Meanwhile, red tape and formalism blossomed. Extreme intolerance of criticism was manifested. Frequently excessive ambition prevailed over realistic assessments and self-assessments.

The situation was worsened by the fact that in frequent cases a party approach to artistic creativity was replaced by departmental and groundless interference in the specific creative processes, likes and dislikes in taste. Methods of ideological influence and management were replaced by administrative decisions.

Comrades! The condition in the party and its cadres, affected the socioeconomic and political situation at the turn of the 1980s. The leading party organs were unable to assess promptly and critically the danger caused by the growth of negative trends in society and in the behavior of some party members and make the decisions urgently required by reality.

Despite their tremendous possibilities and although they existed in virtually all labor collective, many primary party organizations were unable to hold principled positions. Few of them mounted a decisive struggle against negative phenomena, total permissiveness and collective guarantees, weakening of discipline and the spread of drunkenness. Departmentalism, parochialism and nationalistic manifestations were not always properly rebuffed.

In some cases our party organizations fell short of combativeness, exigency toward party members and attention to molding the ideological and political qualities of party members. Yet it is precisely high idea-mindedness and consciousness, readiness to subordinate personal to public interests and selfless service to the people that are the most valuable qualities which have always distinguished the bolsheviks.

The situation in the party was also influenced by the fact that in a number of cases the party authorities failed to pay proper attention to the strict observance of the Leninist principles and norms of party life. More than in any other area this was manifested in violations of collectivism. I am referring to a weakening of the role of party meetings and elected bodies, which deprived the party members of the possibility of active participation in discussing vitally important problems and, in the final account, truly influencing the situation in labor collectives and in society at large.

The principle of equality among party members was frequently violated. Many party members in positions of leadership remained immune to control and criticism, which resulted in work failures and serious violations of party ethics.

Nor should we ignore the just indignation of the working people caused by the behavior of leaders who had been given positions of trust and power and called upon to protect the interests of the state and the citizens, but who instead abused this power, suppressed criticism, acquired wealth, some even becoming accomplices in and, even worse, organizers of criminal actions.

Extreme distortions of the negative processes related to the degeneracy of cadres and violations of socialist legality were manifested in Uzbekistan, Moldavia, Turkmenia, many oblasts in Kazakhstan, Krasnodar Kray, Rostov Oblast and Moscow and some other cities, oblasts, krays and republics, and in the systems of the Ministry of Foreign Trade and USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs.

Naturally, the party organizations and the party as a whole struggled against such phenomena and expelled from the party a considerable number of degenerates. This included people who engaged in thefts, bribery and account padding, violators of state and party discipline and drunkards.

The overwhelming majority of new party members consisted of the best representatives of the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia, people who fulfilled and are fulfilling their party duty sincerely and selflessly. Nevertheless, we must acknowledge that during those years we were unable firmly to stop dishonest, pushy and money-grubbing people who tried to profit from party membership. To some extent we violated the rule that what

mattered most was not the number of new members but the quality of party ranks. This reflected on the combat capability of the party organizations.

All of this, comrades, proves how serious the situation had become in the various social areas and the great need for profound changes. This increases the importance of reemphasizing that the party found in itself the strength and courage soberly to assess the situation, to acknowledge the need for radical change in the political, economic, social and spiritual areas and to lead the country to the road to change.

Such were the circumstances, comrades, when the question of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, of restructuring, was raised. Essentially, this is a question of making a turn and taking steps of a revolutionary nature. What we have in mind when we speak of restructuring and related processes of profound democratization of society are truly revolutionary and comprehensive social changes.

What makes such a radical turn necessary is that there simply is no other way. We cannot retreat and have no place to retreat. We must follow the course set by the April Central Committee Plenum and the 27th Congress systematically and firmly, as we advance and lead society to a qualitatively new level of development.

As V.I. Lenin taught, in initiating social changes we must know "what is the actual nature of this transition, and where does it lead us..." (op cit., vol 43, p 147). As an important aspect of development, criticism of the past enables us to draw lessons and conclusions for the present and the future. It helps engage in constructive work in finding the proper choice of ways and means of progress. We have formulated a scientific strategy for acceleration with the clear understanding that haste or uncontrollability in shaping views on the future are as dangerous as inertia and dogmatic distortions.

Let us once again, today, describe what we mean by restructuring.

Restructuring means decisively surmounting stagnation processes, eliminating the obstructing mechanism and creating a reliable and efficient mechanism for accelerating the socioeconomic development of Soviet society. The main purpose of our strategy is to combine the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with a planned economy and put to work the full potential of socialism.

Restructuring means relying on the live creativity of the masses, comprehensively developing democracy, socialist self-government, encouraging initiative and enterprise, strengthening discipline and order, broadening openness and criticism and self-criticism in all areas of social life; it means promoting great respect for the values and the dignity of the individual.

Restructuring means steadily enhancing the role of intensive factors in the development of the Soviet economy; restoring and developing the Leninist principles of democratic centralism in economic management, comprehensively applying economic management methods, abandoning commands and bureaucratic

administration, ensuring the conversion of all economic units to the principles of total cost accounting and the new forms of labor and production organization, and comprehensively encouraging innovation and socialist enterprise.

Restructuring means making a decisive turn toward science and a business partnership between it and practical work with a view to achieving the highest possible end results; it means the ability to set any initiative on a solid scientific base and the readiness and great willingness on the part of scientists actively to support the party's course of social renovation; it also means concern for the development of science and the growth of scientific cadres and their active participation in restructuring processes.

Restructuring means giving priority to the development of the social sphere, ensuring the increasingly better satisfaction of the needs of the Soviet people for good working conditions, way of life, recreation, education and medical services; it means constant concern for the spiritual wealth and culture of the individual and the entire society; it means the ability to combine the solution of broad and radical problems of social life with the daily problems of concern to the people.

Restructuring means energetically removing from society distortions of socialist morality and systematically implementing the principles of social justice; it means unity between words and actions and rights and obligations; it means praise for honest and high-quality work and surmounting wage equalization trends and consumerism.

The end objective of restructuring, we believe, is clear: a profound renovation of all aspects of life in the country, giving socialism the most advanced forms of social organization and ensuring the fullest possible exposure of the humanistic nature of our system in all of its decisive aspects--economic, sociopolitical and moral.

You and I, comrades, have started this work. The restructuring process is developing along the entire front. It is assuming a new quality, and not only expanding but also penetrating into the deep layers of life.

Restructuring has activated all healthy forces in the society and instilled confidence. An increasing number of party committees, public organizations and labor collectives are getting used to making objective and self-critical evaluations of the state of affairs, forsaking formalism and routine in their work and seeking new original ways of solving problems. We are feeling the active and decisive support of workers, peasants and the artistic and scientific and technical intelligentsia and all Soviet social strata.

A new moral atmosphere is developing in the country. Values are being creatively reassessed. Debates have been started on ways of restructuring the economy and the social and spiritual areas. The search is widening for new methods of organizational and ideological work. Openness, truthfulness in assessing phenomena and events, intolerance of shortcomings and the desire to improve matters are increasingly asserting themselves as active principles of life.

Exigency and discipline are improving and so is the organization of the production process. Order has improved. We consider particularly important the initial steps taken in the restructuring of spiritual life, for without a change in the social consciousness, without changes in the mentality, way of thinking and mood of the people there will be no success, comrades.

We have undertaken the radical reorganization of the material and technical base and the profound reconstruction of the national economy on the basis of scientific and technical progress; we have undertaken to change our structural and investment policies. Broad target programs have been adopted in the leading areas of scientific and technical progress. We are taking them into consideration in the implementation of the 12th 5-Year Plan.

Major steps are being taken to perfect management. Since the beginning of this year all enterprises and associations in industry have been converted to experimentally tested economic management methods. A number of sectors, enterprises and associations have begun to work on the basis of full cost accounting and self-financing.

Economic sectors directly related to meeting the needs of the population, such as the agroindustrial complex, light industry, trade and services, have begun to operate on the basis of principles which ensure the broadest possible autonomy and greater responsibility. Radical changes are being made in capital construction management. A system of state inspection has been introduced at 1,500 leading enterprises with a view to intensifying the struggle for high quality.

The system of foreign economic activities is being restructured. Enterprises and sectors have been granted broader rights in establishing foreign economic relations. New forms of cooperation are being developed further, such as direct relations between enterprises, setting up joint associations and engaging in specialization and production cooperation with foreign partners.

With a view to converting to a comprehensive economic management system, the USSR Council of Ministers has set up permanent agencies in charge of managing groups of interrelated sectors. A draft Law on the State Enterprise (Association) has been formulated; documents pertaining to perfecting the functions of the central economic authorities, ministries, and departments under the conditions of the new economic mechanism and suggestions on organizing new forms of large cost accounting production structures, based on associations and enterprises, and on many other important subjects are being formulated.

Major steps are being taken to improve matters in the social area. New principles for raising wages in production sectors were drafted and are being implemented. We have charted a firm course of rejecting "equalization" and of systematic observance of the socialist principle of distribution based on the quantity and quality of labor. At the same time, unjustified restrictions on individual labor activity have been lifted. Favorable conditions are being currently provided for its development. The organization of cooperatives in various production and service areas is being encouraged with a view to ensuring the better satisfaction of the needs of the population.

Additional possibilities were found for accelerating the pace of housing construction and improving quality, based on the study of the situation in housing construction and in accordance with the programmatic task of giving every family its own housing unit by the year 2000. An additional 10 percent of industrial capital investments are being allocated for such purposes, as a result of which as early as 1987, compared with the stipulations of the 5-year plan, the volume of completed housing will total 9.1 million square meters, or will exceed them by nearly 8 percent.

Housing-cooperative and individual construction is increasing. Easy credit is being granted to this effect and the necessary materials are being allocated. Steps are being taken to develop the construction of housing based on enterprise financing, to expand construction capacities, etc.

A program has been implemented for equipping and reconstructing medical establishments; capacities for the production of domestic pharmaceuticals and medical equipment are being increased and efforts are being speeded up to apply and develop new forms of medical services and to organize the science of medicine. This is closely related to steps taken to improve the working and living conditions of the population, expand preventive treatment, uproot drunkenness and alcoholism and reduce the morbidity rate. The wages of medical workers are being raised.

Comrades, even this brief survey of what we are planning and starting indicates the tremendous scope of restructuring which has developed in the country. The volume is tremendous and could be nothing else. The party has no right to pay lesser attention to any sector of the restructuring. Everything planned must be implemented mandatorily, accurately and on time.

Naturally, the series of measures we are drafting and implementing will not yield immediate returns. Already now, however, the new atmosphere, the new feeling in society are changing the attitude toward the work and are yielding real and practical results.

This is also confirmed by the results of the fulfillment of the plan for the first year of the 5-year period. The generated national income increased by 4.1 percent compared with 3.9 percent as planned, and with the 3.6 percent of average annual growth earmarked for the 11th 5-year period. Industrial output increased by 4.9 percent, or was higher by one third compared to the average annual increase reached in the 11th 5-year period, and the highest in the past 9 years.

You know that the 12th 5-Year Plan is of determining significance to us in modernizing domestic machine building, updating the production apparatus and accelerating scientific and technical progress. The problem of ensuring the faster development of the machine building complex is being solved with great difficulties but, nevertheless, successfully. The production of industrial robots increased by 14 percent in 1 year; of flexible automated production systems, by a factor of 2.6; production of modules by a factor of 2.2 and that of processing centers by a factor of 1.4. Capital investments in the technical retooling and reconstruction of operating machine building enterprises increased by 30 percent. The Politburo will maintain steady

control over the implementation of the machine building program. We hope that the machine builders will be able to cope with their assignments.

Matters are improving somewhat in many other industrial sectors. Ferrous metallurgy and the coal and gas industries ended their year with good indicators and the lag in petroleum extraction is being surmounted.

Labor productivity as a whole increased by 4.6 percent compared with the planned figure of 4.1 percent. It accounted for 96 percent of the annual growth of output. For the first time in many years there has been a substantial reduction in industrial production costs. Material turnover has been accelerated and stockpiles of uninstalled equipment, including foreign imports, have been reduced.

There have been improvements in the development of the agrarian sector. Compared with the average annual indicators for the past 5-year period, in 1986 grain production increased by nearly 30 million tons, or 17 percent; sugar beets, by nearly 3 million tons or 4 percent; meat, by 1.5 million tons or 9 percent; milk, by 6.5 million tons, or 7 percent; and eggs, by nearly 6 billion, or 8 percent.

As you can see, comrades, most of the important indicators of production growth, which we had failed to reach for many years, have begun to rise. We must point out, however, that in the case of crops, such as vegetables, fruits, sunflower and cotton, increase in output was either insignificant or the volumes of output remained unchanged.

It is also important to note improvements in basic financial and economic indicators of kolkhoz and sovkhoz activities. In the public farms, in 1 year labor productivity increased by 6.9 percent and profitability by 19 percent; profits increased by 2 billion rubles.

While we note positive changes in the development of the economy, we must nevertheless point out that as a result of substantial losses and unproductive outlays and nonfulfillment of assignments on expanding trade, the annual plan for the growth of the national income to be used for consumption and accumulation remained unfulfilled.

Despite significant increases compared with the previous year, increases in most important indicators, such as real per capita income, gross agricultural output, production of consumer goods by industry, volume of capital investments, commissioning of capital assets and profit in the national economy stayed below the planned figures. No substantial changes took place in the investment process. Only two-thirds of the projects listed in the state plan were completed.

Although with great difficulty, changes have nonetheless been initiated in the social sphere. For the first time since the 1960s, the number of accidents and losses in working time declined after the steps which were taken to strengthen discipline and mount the struggle against drunkenness. The overall crime rate dropped by nearly one-quarter and major crimes by one-third. The struggle against violations of law and order was intensified ubiquitously.

The volume of housing construction increased, which enabled us to increase the amount of completed housing by 5.2 million square meters compared with 1985. More kindergartens, nurseries, schools, polyclinics, hospitals and cultural and service establishments were built.

Briefly, positive changes have taken place. However, the number of problems which have piled up in this important area remains excessively high and we are still very timidly undertaking their solution.

As you know, reserves for increasing housing construction and building consumer projects were found with a great deal of difficulty. Unfortunately, however, the opportunities which were made available were by no means used fully. The plans for the construction of many of these projects were not fulfilled. This was due not only to the lack of organization among construction workers but also the insufficient attention paid by enterprises, ministries, local soviets and party committees.

Difficulties remain in the food and durable goods trade, the work of the urban transportation system, the communal economy, and the health care and cultural institutions. General speaking, we have not achieved radical changes in the development of the social area and remain largely dominated by the old approaches.

In completing the characterization of the work being done by the party and the entire people for the implementation of the resolutions of the 27th Congress, I would like to say the following: It is very important for us, Central Committee members, to assume positions of realism, objectively assess accomplishments and look at results not only in comparison with the past but, above all, on the basis of the plans we have announced to the people and the promises we have made to them. This is the only right party approach.

We must clearly realize that we are only at the initial stage of restructuring. The basic and most difficult work lies ahead. Persistently, step by step and unhesitatingly we must go forth, soberly assessing accomplishments, fearlessly correcting errors, seeking and finding new ways and means of solving arising problems and mandatorily advancing toward our set targets.

We must firmly master the lesson of the past: we must no allow a gap between decisions and practical work for their implementation. We must no become conceited and complacent. I am mentioning this once again, for we still come across such cases. We must act, act, and once again act, energetically, daringly, creatively and competently.

Such a formulation of the problem is dictated also by the fact that in many economic, state, soviet and even party agencies and in labor collectives themselves, by no means is everyone marching in step with the requirements of life. Many are the people who are only slowly discarding the burden of the past, waiting and even openly obstructing things, preventing the extensive development of the people's political, social and labor activities.

Not everyone has realized that a new way of work means firmly abandoning the old customs and methods. In the final account, this depends on the civic stance of the individual and his conscientious attitude toward assignment and obligations and toward anything for which we are answerable to the party, the country and our consciences.

Meetings and talks with working people and party and economic cadres have shown that the restructuring is being welcomed with warm support. Masses of people are in favor of it. But here is something noteworthy: many people, who support the new, believe that the restructuring must take place somewhere high up and accomplished by someone else, such as party, state and economic authorities, other sectors, related enterprises, or the people in the neighboring shop, livestock farm or construction site or, in general, by anyone other than themselves.

No, comrades, by justly demanding a restructuring on all levels, every single one of us must begin with restructuring himself. Everyone--workers, kolkhoz members and intellectuals, from the labor collective to the CPSU Central Committee and the government--must work in a new style--energetically and creatively and, let me say it once again, as dictated by his conscience.

In the tremendous project of restructuring we, communists, rely above all on the high consciousness and organization, social initiative and great labor accomplishments of the working class, the leading political force of our society.

The working class, all Soviet people, who give a high rating to the party's course of restructuring, are also expressing their concern over the course of its practical implementation. They are calling upon the party not to rest on accomplishments but to act firmly, to go forth and steadfastly to implement its planned course. It is on the basis of this, comrades, that we must draw political conclusions.

In as much as such concern exists in society, it obviously shows that our efforts remain insufficient. Therefore, we have not acted with the necessary efficiency and aggressiveness everywhere and in everything. Therefore, by no means have all the steps taken and the work done corresponded to the scale and gravity of the problems or been consistent with the time. Therefore, comrades, the Central Committee has reasonable grounds for considerations and for drawing the necessary conclusions.

Naturally, we understand that the elimination of existing thinking and acting stereotypes is a complex and painful process which demands time and a considered approach.

It is entirely obvious that this process cannot develop by itself, isolated from changes in political, socioeconomic and spiritual life.

We must clearly realize that today an entire set of steps must be taken. They include the formulation of theoretical concepts, based on the realities of our time, a thoroughly substantiated scientific prediction of the future, changes in social consciousness, systematic expansion of democratic institutions,

development of the political culture of the masses, reorganization of the economic management mechanism and organizational structures and, naturally, pursuit of an active social policy.

Only thus can we eliminate the obstructing mechanism and provide the necessary scope to the forces of acceleration.

I believe that this Central Committee Plenum should tell the party and the people that we are facing a hard struggle which demands high consciousness and organization, endurance and the utmost dedication of every party member and citizen.

Comrades! The study of the condition in which our society found itself on the eve of the April Central Committee Plenum and the experience in restructuring most urgently raised a main question: Do we have any guarantees that the restructuring process we have initiated will be completed, that the old errors will not be repeated and that we shall be able to ensure the full development of our society?

The Politburo answers these questions in the affirmative: Yes, we do have such guarantees.

They are the one will and joint actions of the party and the people, united in their experience and awareness of responsibility for the present and future of the socialist homeland;

They are the comprehensive development of the democratic nature of the socialist system, and the real and increasingly active participation of the people in the solution of all problems of the country's life, the complete restoration of the Leninist principles of openness, social control, criticism and self-criticism and sincerity in politics, consisting of unity between words and actions;

Finally, they are the healthy development of the party itself and its ability to make a critical study of its own activities, the ability to update its ways and means of work and to formulate on the basis of revolutionary theory the long-term development of society and to struggle for the solution of the new problems formulated by reality.

It is precisely the intensification of socialist democracy, the constructive creativity of the Soviet people and the vanguard role of the party members in practical matters that will ensure both the success and the irreversible nature of the revolutionary changes earmarked by the 27th Congress.

## II. Intensification of Socialist Democracy and Development of People's Self-Government

Comrades! Better than ever before today we realize the entire depth of Lenin's thought of the live inner ties between socialism and democracy. The entire historical experience acquired by our country convincingly proved that the socialist system actually ensured the political and socioeconomic rights

of the citizens and their individual freedoms, brought to light the advantages of Soviet democracy and gave every person confidence in the future.

Under the conditions of restructuring, however, when the question of enhancing the human factor has become so pressing, we must once again turn to Lenin's formulation of the question of the maximal democracy of the socialist system, in which a person feels himself both as master and creator.

"We must," V.I. Lenin said, "follow life. We must provide full freedom for the creativity of the people's masses" (op cit., vol 35, p 27).

Yes, a democracy the essence of which is the power of the working person is a form of exercise of his broad political and civic rights, interest in change and practical participation in making it.

A simple and clear thought is increasingly asserting itself in the social consciousness: order at home can be brought only by he who feels himself its master. This truth applies not only in the ordinary sense but in its sociopolitical meaning as well. We must steadfastly implement it in action. I emphasize, in action, for without this the human factor will stay inactive.

It is only through the systematic development of the democratic forms inherent in socialism and expanded self-government that our progress in production, science, technology, literature, culture, arts, and all areas of social life is possible. This is the only way leading to conscious discipline. The restructuring itself is possible only through and thanks to democracy. Only thus can we provide scope for the most powerful constructive force of socialism--free labor and free thinking in a free country.

That is why the further democratization of Soviet society becomes the party's urgent task. Actually, this is the essence of the course charted by the April Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress, a course of intensified socialist self-government by the people. Naturally, it is not a question of dismantling our political system. We must make maximally efficient use of all of its opportunities. We must instill in the work of the party, the soviets, the state bodies, public organizations and labor collectives a profoundly democratic content. We must breathe a new life in all cells of the social organism.

This process is already under way in our country. The life of the party organizations is becoming richer. Criticism and self-criticism are expanding. The mass information media have become more active. The Soviet people are properly feeling the beneficial influence of openness, which is becoming a norm of social life.

The congresses of the creative associations took place in an atmosphere of principle-mindedness and a critical attitude. New social organizations are being created. An All-Union Organization of War and Labor Veterans announced its birth. A Soviet cultural foundation was set up. Work is being done to set up women's councils. All of this is an indication of growing participation of the working people in social affairs and in managing the country.

What ways are being considered by the Politburo for the further intensification of democracy in Soviet society?

We shall be able truly to enhance the initiative and creativity of the people if our democratic institutions actively and realistically influence the situation in each labor collective, whether it is a question of planning, organization of labor, distribution of material or other benefits, and selection and promotion to leading positions of the most authoritative and competent people. We can confidently say that the faster every Soviet person can feel these changes through personal experience, the more active will his life stance and his participation in all social and governmental affairs become.

The development of democracy at work and the systematic application of true self-governing principles in the work of labor collectives are of prime significance. The economy is the decisive area of social life. Here tens of millions of people are employed on a daily basis. That is why the development of democracy at work is the most important area in the intensification and broadening of socialist democracy as a whole. It is the type of lever which will ensure the broad and active participation of the working people in all areas of social life and enable us to avoid many errors and blunders.

The most important practical task providing the type of conditions and forms of production organization which would enable every working person to feel that he is the true owner of the enterprise. This is a high and responsible status. It not only grants broad rights in the actual management of affairs but also presumes high responsibility for everything in the labor collective.

A variety of forms of participation of the working people in production management have been established in the course of building socialism. The life of labor collectives is inconceivable without party, trade union, Komsomol and other social organizations. Of late the role of worker meetings and collective contracts has increased. New forms of democracy have developed, such as brigade and shop councils, and conditions for taking further step along this way have become ripe.

Reality itself has put on the agenda the need to formulate a basic legal document, such as the Law on the State Enterprise (Association), a draft of which was given to you. This law calls for radical changes in conditions and methods of economic management in the basic economic unit, consolidating in the activities of enterprises the combination between planning and full cost accounting, autonomy and responsibility, and legitimizing new forms of self-government born of the creativity of the masses.

This law presumes the implementation of one of the most important stipulations of the party congress: effective use of direct democracy. Granting general meetings and councils of labor collectives rights to solve production, social and cadre problems, as stipulated in the draft, will be a major political step in converting, in V.I. Lenin's words, "to true people's self-government" (op cit., vol 34, p 316).

The systematic implementation of the Law on the State Enterprise (Association), combined with a set of steps currently taken in the economic area, will create, we believe, an overall new situation in the national economy, enhance economic development and bring about qualitative improvements in many aspects of social life. Taking the tremendous significance of this law into consideration, the Politburo suggests that its draft be submitted to nationwide discussion. I hope that the Central Committee members will support this motion.

Our kolkhozes and the socialist cooperative system as a whole have broad and substantially unused opportunities for the democratization of economic management and the social area. The restructuring of the management system in the agroprom and the decision concerning the further development of cooperatives in other economic sectors will create good prerequisites for the use of such opportunities. In this connection it would be expedient, in our view, to hold a congress of kolkhoz members to discuss crucial problems of kolkhoz life and to make the necessary amendments to kolkhoz model statutes.

The Politburo actively supports the practical steps which have already been taken in many republics, krays and oblasts in expanding other cooperative forms of activities. This will enable us to ensure the better satisfaction of the growing needs of the population for many types of commodities and services and to create additional conditions for the development of democracy in the economic area and for the better utilization of the human potential.

Comrades, hesitations concerning the cooperative movement, such as existed in the past and are still noted, must be firmly eliminated. The cooperative movement has not only not exhausted its possibilities but even provides great opportunities.

Why am I returning to and emphasizing this question? Because even after the 27th CPSU Congress, despite the resolutions passed by the Central Committee and the government on the development of cooperatives in material and technical supplies, services, public catering, the communal economy and local industry and construction, matters have not developed as they should. All sorts of obstacles are being erected along this way and there is strong support of administrative-bureaucratic management methods and rejection of nontraditional yet vitally necessary economic management methods which can stimulate the initiative of the working people and enhance their social activeness.

Obviously, it is difficult for some comrades to realize that democracy is not merely a slogan but the essence of restructuring. One must change one's views and habits in order to remain in the mainstream of life. This is our pressing advice to anyone who is doubtful and slow.

Let us especially single out the question of the elective nature of managers of enterprises, production lines, shops, sections, sectors, livestock farms and units, brigade leaders and foremen. The present stage of restructuring, conversion to new economic management methods, cost accounting, self-financing and self-support made this a practical problem. This is an important and necessary step which, unquestionably, will be approved by the working people.

We have extensively undertaken the conversion of enterprises to total cost accounting, self-financing and self-support. We have introduced the state inspection system. This means that enterprise income and all forms of incentives for members of labor collectives and the degree of satisfaction of social needs will entirely depend on end work results and on the quantity and quality of output and services.

Under such circumstances, it is hardly a matter of indifference to workers and kolkhoz members who will head an enterprise, shop, section or brigade. If the well-being of a collective becomes dependent on the manager's ability, the working people must also have the real possibility of influencing the choice of a manager and controlling his activities.

Some experience has been acquired in the country in the open choice of managers. Thus, as of 1983, taking into consideration the opinion of collectives and primary party organizations, more than 8,500 people have been promoted to leading positions in Krasnodar Kray. More than 200 candidacies were denied the necessary support of the working people and were rejected. Similar experience exists in many other places. It is well-received by the people and is having a positive influence on work results.

Generally speaking, comrades, whatever point of view we may adopt in approaching this important matter, the only possible conclusion is that the time is ripe for changes, for democratizing the process of appointing enterprise management cadres through the comprehensive use of the elective principle. This, as you realize, implies a qualitatively new situation, an essentially new nature of participation of the working people in production management and a substantial enhancement in the role and responsibility of the collective for the results of its activities.

All of this must be taken into consideration in the course of the practical solution of this problem. One consideration, however, should be voiced immediately, pertaining to the one-man command principle. We believe that electivity not only does not undermine but even upgrades the authority of a manager who feels the support of the people who have elected him, thus enhancing his responsibility for the work and reciprocal exigency and strictness in the collective.

We must reinterpret the role of party and public organizations and economic management authorities. Extensive work must be done to develop in all our cadres a proper understanding of the fact that broadening democracy in production presumes the organic combination of one-man command with collective management, intensification of democratic centralism and the development of self-government.

The Politburo considers improvements in the Soviet electoral system an essential trend in the democratization of our life. Respective proposals are being drafted on this matter on the instructions of the 27th Congress.

What can we say about this? The existing mechanism of the electoral system ensures the representation of all population strata in elective authorities. The working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia, men and women,

veterans and young people and all nations and ethnic groups in the country are represented on all levels of the present soviets. The elective authorities reflect the socioprofessional and national structure of Soviet society and the variety of interests of the entire population. In itself, this is a tremendous accomplishment of socialist democracy.

However, like any other political, economic or social institution, the electoral system cannot remain frozen or outside restructuring and the processes developing within society.

What is the essence of the suggestions and wishes of the working people on such matters, received by the CPSU Central Committee, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, other central authorities and the mass information media?

Politically, it is a question of intensifying the democratic nature of the electoral system and ensuring the more efficient and real participation of the voters in all stages of the pre-electoral and electoral campaign.

Specifically, most suggestions are reduced to a request that at electoral meetings in labor collectives and residential areas and at pre-election conferences, as a rule several candidacies be discussed, that electoral districts be enlarged and several deputies elected from each district. The comrades believe that this will allow every citizen to express his attitude toward a broader range of candidates and enable party and soviet bodies to become better familiar with the population's feelings and desires.

In responding to such wishes, we must take a new look at the organization of the elections themselves and the practices of nominating and discussing candidates for people's deputies. We must eliminate formalism from the voting procedure and see to it that this very year the electoral campaign take place in an atmosphere of broader democracy and interested participation of the people in this process.

A draft law on amending the electoral system should be published in advance for purposes of nationwide discussion.

The implementation of such suggestions would be the first important step in the further democratization of the process of the establishment and functioning of state authorities. Obviously, however, we must also consider more profound changes and further steps in this direction. Taking into consideration both available experience and the new tasks, once again we must study most thoroughly Lenin's legacy on problems of Soviet state building and apply it in solving the problems which face society today.

It is entirely natural that problems of expanding intraparty democracy should be considered as part of the overall process of further democratization of Soviet society.

As we know, a number of important stipulations aimed at strengthening the democratic principles of party life were implemented at the 27th Congress in the amendments and supplements to CPSU statutes. Such work must be continued.

It would be expedient to hold consultations among ourselves on how to improve the mechanism for creating leading party bodies.

A number of different proposals have been received by the Central Committee on this subject. Allow me to report the conclusions based of their summation.

Let us begin with the setting up of elective authorities in the primary party organization. Most suggestions on this matter call for providing full opportunity to all party members without exception to express their preferences in electing secretaries of party buros and committees, making them more answerable to those who elect them.

We must also consider changes in the procedure for electing secretaries of raykoms, okrughkoms, gorkoms, obkoms and kraykoms and central committees of communist parties of union republics. In this case, as the comrades suggest, secretaries, including first secretaries, should be elected by secret vote at plenums of respective party committees. The party committee members would have the right to include in the electoral list any number of candidates. This would substantially increase the answerability of the secretaries to the party committees which have elected them, increase their confidence at work and help us to determine the level of their authority more accurately.

Naturally, the statutory principle according to which the decisions of superior authorities are mandatory to all subordinate party committees, including decisions affecting cadre problems, must remain inviolable within the party.

In the opinion of the Politburo, further democratization should also apply to the structure of the central leading party authorities. This, I believe, is entirely logical. Obviously, it would be logical to democratize elections for leading bodies of other public organizations as well.

I assume, comrades, that you will agree that all of these steps will strengthen the foundations of democratic centralism in party life and contribute to strengthening the unity and cohesion within party ranks, upgrade discipline and responsibility and the activeness of every party member and all party organizations, and the party as a whole.

Some questions may arise: Would we not complicate the procedure for setting up elected party authorities, to what extent is all of this justified and to what extent could this help us?

Starting with the April Central Committee Plenum, we have steadily emphasized that the problems which have accumulated in society are largely the result of shortcomings in the activities of the party itself and in its cadres policy. The Politburo believes that the further democratization of the process of setting up elected authorities is one of the important prerequisites in upgrading the activities of the party and ensuring the influx of fresh forces and the active work of party organizations, and a guarantee against repeating the errors of the past.

Elections in the party are not a formal act and we must approach their preparation after careful consideration, in a spirit of high responsibility, proceeding from the interests of the party and society.

The democratization of society also reformulates the question of control over the work of party, soviet and economic authorities and their personnel. As to control "from above," as you know, of late substantial changes have taken place in this area. Various "forbidden areas" of criticism and control are becoming part of the past. At their meetings, the Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat regularly hear reports submitted by central committees of communist parties of union republics and party kraykoms and obkoms; other essential problems of party and social life are considered profoundly and comprehensively. The USSR Council of Ministers and its presidium have become significantly more exigent toward ministries, departments and councils of ministers of union republics.

Speaking frankly, a great deal remains to be done in this respect by the Politburo, the Central Committee Secretariat and the government. We are still forced to consider the same problems several times over and take additional steps to solve them. In particular, this was clearly indicated by the discussion which took place at the latest Politburo meeting on the course of implementation of the decrees of the Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers on accelerating the development of machine building. We make the necessary decisions but, as in the past, we do not implement them fully and within the stipulated time. One of the reasons for this is that many people have still not abandoned their old habits and are displaying an irresponsible attitude toward their obligations. Discipline is poor. By no means are all managers observing the principle of unity between words and actions. Some speak more than work. We must draw most serious conclusions from all this.

Regardless of how important control "from above" may be, with the democratization of society upgrading the standard and efficiency of control "from below" is of essential significance, so that every manager and official must always be aware of his responsibility and his dependence on the voters, the labor collectives, public organizations, the party, the entire people. What matters most here is to create and strengthen all instruments and forms of real control originating with the working people.

What instruments and forms do I have in mind?

Above all, accountability. The time has come strictly to observe the rules of systematic accountability by all elected and appointed officials to labor collectives and the population. Each one of their report must be accompanied by a lively and principled discussion, criticism, self-criticism, and practical suggestions, and conclude with an assessment of the activities of the reporter.

It is thus that we shall observe Lenin's stipulation that the work of the elected authorities and managers remain visible to all and is watched by the masses. If we succeed in developing such control, unquestionably many of the reasons for complaints and appeals to superior authorities will disappear, and

most of their problems can be settled locally. Under conditions of broad democracy the people themselves will bring order in their own collectives, towns or villages.

The soviets of people's deputies and the trade unions and other public organizations have tremendous control opportunities. The democratic principles governing the sessions, permanent commissions and deputies must be strengthened in supreme and local soviets; the efficiency of regular reports submitted by officials to the soviets and the practice of deputy questions must be intensified. This approach will strengthen even further the authority of the people's system in the eyes of the masses.

In improving control, we must streamline without delay all types of investigations and inspections which are now pouring literally like an avalanche on enterprises, establishments and organizations, taking people away from their work and upsetting them. As a rule, the practicality of such actions is infinitesimal. This is not a new question. It has been discussed and written about frequently. So far, however, nothing has changed. Obviously, the Central Committee Secretariat and the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium should bring proper order in this matter and take the path of quality rather than quantity of investigations.

As we improve the social atmosphere, we must continue to develop openness. This is a powerful lever for improving work in all areas of our building, and an efficient form of control by the whole people. A good confirmation of this fact is the experience acquired after the April Central Committee Plenum.

Obviously, the time has come to make laws which would guarantee openness. They should ensure maximal openness in the activities of state and public organizations and offer the working people the real opportunity of expressing their views on any problem of social life.

Criticism and self-criticism are tried tools of socialist democracy. No one would probably oppose this openly. In reality, however, we come across proofs that by no means has everyone realized the need to support the critical mood in society. Occasionally, some officials consider even the slightest remark as an encroachment on their prestige which they defend by all possible means. But some are smarter. They acknowledge the justice of criticism and even express their gratitude for it but are in no hurry to correct shortcomings, hoping that eventually nothing will change.

Such an attitude toward criticism has nothing in common with our principles and morality. At the present stage, as we assert new approaches to sociopolitical life and the spiritual sphere, criticism and self-criticism become immeasurable more important. The attitude toward criticism is an important criterion in judging the attitude of a person toward restructuring and toward all new developments in society.

Here as well, we can only regret that we keep encountering not only cases of rejection of criticism but also of persecution for it, and of direct suppression of critical statements. In frequent cases this acquires such dimensions, scale and forms that the Central Committee has to intervene in

order to restore truth and justice and to support the honest people who care for the interests of the work. I have already had the opportunity to speak on this subject but improvements are taking place all too slowly. Look at articles in the central press for January alone and you will see that persecution for criticism is by no means infrequent.

In this connection we must support the efforts of the mass information media in developing criticism and self-criticism in our society. The Soviet people properly assessed the position of the media in the struggle for restructuring. The central newspapers and journals have gained more than 14 million new readers; millions of viewers watch Central Television programs on topical subjects. The people are attracted by the daring and depth of the formulation of topical problems related to the accelerated socioeconomic development of the country, covering a great variety of aspects of social life. The party assumes that the materials in the mass information media will continue to be distinguished by their depth and objectivity and high civic responsibility.

Let us also mention the positive changes which have taken place in republic and local publications. However, by no means have all of them as yet truly joined the restructuring. They lack principle-mindedness and daring in raising questions and a critical attitude toward shortcomings. Many party committees are not always fully using the information media which are a powerful lever of restructuring and, here and there, are continuing to fetter their activities.

While hoping that the principled and constructive criticism of shortcomings and omissions will continue, the party nevertheless expects of the mass information media a broader coverage of the practical experience of labor collectives and party, soviet and economic bodies, public organizations and leading cadres under the conditions of restructuring. We greatly need answers to many vital problems which restructuring has raised and, I believe, will raise in the future. We must help everyone to reorganize himself faster, in the spirit of the time. This organizing function of the press, as V.I. Lenin said, must be strengthened with every passing day; the press must learn how to be the collective agitator, propagandist and organizer of the masses.

We must be totally clear about something else as well. We say that in Soviet society there should not be areas closed to criticism. This fully applies to the mass information media as well.

Comrades! True democracy does not exist outside the law and above the law. The 27th Party Congress defined the main areas of development of our legislation and of strengthening law and order. This 5-year period extensive work must be done in passing new laws related to the development of the economy, the social sphere and culture, socialist self-government by the people and broadening the guarantees of citizens' rights and freedoms.

The Politburo supported the suggestion of drafting a new criminal code in the immediate future. The task is to make it more consistent with contemporary conditions governing the development of Soviet society, to protect more efficiently the interests and rights of the citizens and to help strengthen discipline and law and order. We must consider and take steps to upgrade the

role and authority of Soviet courts, ensure the strict observance of the principle of judicial independence, decisively strengthen the prosecutor's supervisory system and improve the work of the investigative authorities.

A draft bill on challenging in court illegal actions of by officials, which violate citizens' rights has been prepared and will soon be submitted for discussion. Additional steps have been planned to improve state arbitration and broaden legal propaganda.

In speaking of the essential problem of democratizing Soviet society, let us emphasize once again the main, the determining feature of socialist democracy: the organic combination of democracy with discipline, autonomy with responsibility and rights with obligations of officials and private citizens.

Socialist democracy has nothing in common with permissiveness, irresponsibility and anarchy. True democracy serves every person and protects his political and social rights. At the same time, it serves each collective and society as a whole in protecting their interests.

Democratization in all areas of Soviet society is important above all because we relate to it the further development of the initiative of the working people and the identification of the full potential of the socialist system. It is necessary in order to advance, for the rule of law to strengthen in society and for justice to triumph; it is necessary in order to establish the type of moral atmosphere in which a person can live in freedom and work productively.

Comrades! It is a well-known fact that the efficiency of true democracy depends on the extent to which it is based on the interests of the broad masses, it relies on them and is supported by all social strata and groups. Here as well reconstruction requires, yet once again, to analyze our reserves and possibilities for the further broadening of the social base of democracy. The vital nature of this problem is obvious.

Our entire experience teaches us that in crucial times, in solving the most difficult and most daring problems, the party has invariably turned to the Komsomol, to the young and to their enthusiasm and loyalty to the cause of socialism, intolerance of stagnation and support of progress. Today as well, when we speak of the need for democratic change and for broadening the real participation of the people in solving the problems of restructuring, the question of the stance of the young generation assumes tremendous political significance.

At this plenum, I would like to repeat once again that we can be proud of our youth and that we give proper credit to its work. This is factually true and politically correct.

However, our time demands even greater energy of everyone. Naturally, young people are interested in restructuring and must act more energetically. They live and work in a renovated society. The party organizations, the committees and the Komsomol must offer the young generation prospects and act in such a way that the young people will become true energetic participants in changes.

These are the positions from which we must also approach preparations for the next Komsomol congress. In working with the Komsomol we must pay great attention to labor, ideological-political and moral training. We must get rid more rapidly and decisively of anything that is superfluous in working with young people, above all admonitions and bureaucratic administration. Yes, all of this exists and should be mentioned. Regardless of the reasons given--mistrust of the sensibility and maturity of social aspirations and actions of young people, simple reinsurance or the wish to ease the burdens of life for one's children--such positions must be entirely discarded.

No, comrades, the only real way of molding an individual and a civic stance in the young person is his real involvement in all social affairs. Nothing can take the place of specific experience. That is why it is important to change the existing situation. What am I referring to?

Above all, we must trust young people more, a trust which would combine skillful assistance and freedom of comradely criticism of errors, greater independence in organizing work, training, way of life and recreation and greater responsibility for one's deeds and actions. This also presumes the right to participate in social management on all levels.

Promoting nonparty comrades to leading positions is a main trend in the democratization of social life. This is an essential problem. One of the firm guarantees of the health and progress of socialist society is the political and practical growth of a progressive worker, peasant, engineer, scientific associate, physician, teacher and service industry worker, and the constant discovery and encouragement of popular talent.

Occasionally we hear the following viewpoint: the question of promoting nonparty people is obsolete, it is claimed, for today the CPSU has more than 19 million members. I consider this wrong. By applying it we distort relations between the party and the masses and, frankly, violate the constitutional rights of the citizens, and thus also limit our cadre opportunities. We have had and have many outstanding examples of fruitful activities performed at leading positions by nonparty comrades. They head plants, factories, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, construction organizations, scientific and pedagogical collectives and engineering services, and actively participate in social work.

The open selection of party and nonparty members for promotion will be consistent with the tasks of democratization and involving the broad toiling masses in management.

The question of more extensive promotion of women to leading positions is similar. Currently many women are successfully holding party and state positions, and working in science, health care, education, culture, light industry, trade and services. Today the country needs their even more active participation in managing the economy and culture on the union and republic levels. We do have such possibilities. All that is needed is to give women our trust and support.

Comrades! No single basic question can ever be solved if we ignore the fact that we have a multinational country. It is hardly necessary to prove the importance of the socialist foundations in the development of national relations. It was precisely socialism that put an end to national oppression and inequality and to all violations of the rights of people due to their nationality and ensured the economic and spiritual progress of all nations and ethnic groups. Briefly, the successes achieved by our party in its national policy are unquestionable and we can be justifiably proud of them.

However, we must see the real picture and consider the future development of national relations. Today, when democracy and self-government are expanding and when the national self-awareness of all nations and ethnic groups is increasing rapidly and internationalization processes are intensifying, the timely and just solution of problems, on the only possible basis, that of promoting the blossoming of each nation and nationality and their further rapprochement in the interest of the entire society, assumes particular importance.

Once again we must not fail to point out that negative phenomena and deformations, against which we have mounted a struggle, appeared also in the area of national relations. Occasionally, manifestations of parochialism, tendencies to display national exclusiveness and feelings of national boastfulness and even incidents similar to those which took place quite recently in Alma-Ata, occur.

The events in Alma-Ata and those which preceded them must be studied seriously and assessed on a principled basis. Although we are as yet to determine carefully what happened, it has already become clear that these events require not only party members in Kazakhstan but all party organizations and their committees to face the problems of the further development of national relations and of intensifying international upbringing. Protecting the growing generation from the corrupting influence of nationalism is particularly important.

V.I. Lenin taught "the ability to be...an internationalist in fact" (op cit., vol 31, p 177). Our duty is not to forsake this teaching.

Our entire experience indicates that nationalistic epidemics can be successfully countered only by systematic and consistent internationalism. All our accomplishments are the result joint efforts. People in one place extract petroleum and people elsewhere send them food. Those who grow cotton receive machinery. Each ton of grain, gram of gold, ton of cotton, coal or petroleum and each machine, from the simplest to the unique, contains a particle of the labor of the entire Soviet people, the entire country, our multinational union.

The entire atmosphere of our life and joint labor, family, school, army, culture, literature and art are called upon to shape and develop in the Soviet people of all nationalities, the young above all, the loftiest feelings of internationalism and Soviet patriotism.

In the spirit of the Leninist requirements and the stipulations of the 27th Congress, we must firmly see to it that all nations and ethnic groups in the country are represented in party, state and economic authorities, including those on the union level, and that the structure of leading cadres reflect most fully the country's national structure.

Naturally, this is not a question of a mechanical assignment of places and positions based on national characteristics. This would vulgarize the very idea of internationalism. In all cases, a person's character is determined by his political, practical and moral qualities. Nor should we ignore the particularly sensitive nature of the national aspects of one problem or another and of national traditions in the way of life, mentality and behavior of the people. All of this must be taken most thoroughly into consideration.

Let me point out, comrades, that some managers occasionally approach the solution of problems related to relations among nationalities without a proper feeling of responsibility.

Occasionally, misunderstandings in relations among neighboring rayons or oblasts belonging to different republics break out. Sometimes they develop into arguments or even litigations. Meanwhile, instead of preventing or cooling down passions, the heads of party and soviet authorities avoid making principled decisions. The political workers must be able to act skillfully in such situations and cool down unhealthy feelings.

Our theoretical work has fallen greatly behind the practice of national relations. I am referring to the clearly inadequate work on problems of national policy consistent with the current stage reached in the country's development. For it is a fact, comrades, that instead of undertaking objective studies of real phenomena in the area of national relations and analyzing real socioeconomic and spiritual processes, which are essentially quite complex and contradictory, some of our social scientists preferred, for a long time, to write works of a "health-promoting" nature, which occasionally remind more of starry-eyed toasts rather than serious scientific studies.

We must acknowledge that the errors which were made in the area of national relations and their manifestations were shunned aside and their mention was not considered acceptable. This brought about the negative consequences which we are facing today.

At the 27th Congress we emphasized the inviolable nature of our party's tradition, which stems from V.I. Lenin: to be particularly sensitive and cautious in anything related to the development of national relations and affecting the influence of each nation and nationality and the national feelings of the people, and promptly to solve problems which arise in this area.

It is in the bolshevik tradition to wage a principle-minded struggle against any manifestations of national exclusivity and boastfulness, nationalism, chauvinism, parochialism, Zionism and anti-Semitism. Let us always remember that nationalism and proletarian internationalism are two opposite policies, two conflicting outlooks.

It is on the basis of such views that we shall be firm and principle-minded. The national feelings of the people deserve respect. They should not be ignored. However, nor should we make advance to them. Let those who would like to encourage nationalistic or chauvinistic prejudices have no illusions on this account or expect any tolerance.

Comrades, a principle is something which cannot be waved aside. Unquestionably, this position, which is principle-minded and Leninist, will be supported by the entire nation, by the entire multinational Soviet people.

### III. Cadre Policy Under Restructuring Conditions

Comrades! I believe that all of us properly realize that the success of restructuring decisively depends on the speed and extent to which our cadres will accept the need for change and will creatively and purposefully implement the party line. Today we need a cadre policy consistent with the tasks of restructuring and the need to accelerate socioeconomic development. In formulating its initial requirements, we must also take into consideration both the lessons of the past and the new broad assignments which life set to us today.

In the course of building socialism in the country a powerful and highly skilled cadre potential was developed; the immeasurably higher level of education and standards of workers and peasants, of the entire people, create favorable conditions for the steady strengthening and renovation of this potential. All that we have accomplished and achieved has been the result of the work of Soviet people, and of the dedication of our cadres.

Nevertheless, at this plenum we must also point out errors in cadre work and distortions in cadre policy which took place in recent years and brought about major shortcomings in the activities of a number of units in the party, state and economic apparatus and negative phenomena in society. Many errors could have been avoided had the party authorities pursued, always and consistently, a principled and efficient cadre policy, ensuring the high efficiency of all party guidance and economic management units.

Naturally, today we must not limit ourselves merely to acknowledging errors. In order to avoid such blunders in the future, we must draw lessons from the past.

Which are they?

The first is the need promptly to solve imminent cadre problems within the party's Central Committee itself and its Politburo, above all from the viewpoint of ensuring continuity in leadership and an influx of fresh forces. It was violations of this natural process that led at some point to a weakening of the efficiency of the Politburo and the Secretariat, of the CPSU Central Committee as a whole and its apparatus, and even of the government.

Actually, comrades, after the April Plenum, most of the Secretariat and heads of CPSU Central Committee departments were replaced within a short time; the virtually entire membership of the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium was

changed. This was necessary because for a long time there had been no renovation in the structure of the Central Committee and the government or their steady reinforcement with new cadres, as demanded by reality. In the final account, all of this affected the formulation of policy and party practical activities in social management.

This should and must no longer be repeated. In order not to interrupt the renovation process or disrupt continuity, the CPSU Central Committee and the Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat, the government, the higher echelons of party and state leadership must become open to the influx of fresh forces from various areas of activity. This formulation of the question is entirely consistent with the Leninist understanding of cadre policy and the interests of the party and the people.

Naturally, the party's Central Committee has done and is doing a tremendous deal of work. However, never, under any circumstances, must this level be lowered. On the contrary, it must steadily grow and meet the requirements of reality, the development of society and the international situation. Any weakening in Central Committee activities is inadmissible.

The CPSU Central Committee must be a model of implementation of Leninist ideas, principles and methods of work. Our plenums must discuss the truly crucial problems of party life and of the country's domestic and international situation. Such discussions must be free and frank, with feelings of high responsibility, in an atmosphere of ideological unity and broad comparison of viewpoints.

In this connection, let me make particular mention of the role of the Central Committee members and their rights and responsibilities. At plenums every Central Committee member must be ensured the right to raise questions and to participate in their collective and creative discussion. Within the party, and even more so at Central Committee plenums, there must be no individual above criticism or deprived of the right to criticize.

We must correct a great deal in this area. Let us honestly point out that for many years a number of vital problems which agitated the party and the people were not put on plenary agenda. The comrades will recall that frequently Central Committee plenums were brief and formal. Throughout their term of Central Committee membership, many of its members had no opportunity to participate in debates or even to submit motions. Such an atmosphere in Central Committee plenums also affected the work style of local party committees and organizations.

The second lesson from recent experience, comrades, is that we must not allow any underestimating of political and theoretical training and ideological and moral tempering of cadres for otherwise this would lead to most serious breakdowns in the activities of party committees as agencies of political management.

In recent years these criteria were not always taken into consideration in the selection, placement and upbringing of cadres. Priority was frequently given to a person's specific knowledge in an area of production, science and

technology, and to his his willful qualities. Unquestionably, all of this is important. However, we must not ignore managerial qualities, such as an ideological-theoretical outlook, political maturity, moral foundations and the ability to convince and lead people.

We must openly and honestly acknowledge that the technocratic, "administrative-pressure" work style caused a great deal of harm to party work, above all to work with people, i.e., to the main aspect of party activities. Many party workers, who took up economic problems and, in many cases, assumed extraneous functions, lowered their attention to political problems and socially significant phenomena in economic, social and spiritual life.

Naturally, this style was also based on objective reasons related to the fact that a number of problems of economic management remained unsolved and to the lack of an efficient economic mechanism. Under these circumstances, feeling their responsibility and duty to the people, many party committees were forced to undertake the solution of a large number of economic problems. This occurred over a period of many years and became deeply rooted in the style and methods of work and brought about a certain deformation in the principles of party leadership and in the very structure of our cadres.

The implementation of large-scale steps to restructure management and the economic mechanism in the country offers broad opportunities for improving the work of party committees and organizations, strengthening party influence in all areas of social life and adopting a political approach to all problems.

Let me emphasize that no one can release party committees from their concern and responsibility for the economic situation. As I already pointed out, it is a question of improving methods of party leadership in a manner which would exclude substituting and petty supervision of economic authorities.

The third lesson which we must draw is that in cadre policy in recent years two conflicting trends paradoxically managed to coexist. What am I referring to, comrades?

On the one hand, stagnation phenomena were quite strongly manifested in the cadre corps. The necessary cadre changes and the appointment of new people did not take place, sometimes for several decades, in the structure of secretaries of many party committees and personnel of soviet and economic authorities on the local, republic and union levels.

In mentioning this fact I do not wish to cast even the slightest aspersion on many hundreds and thousands of outstanding workers, particularly on the rayon and city levels, who have dedicated and are dedicating all their efforts and knowledge to selfless service to the party and the people. With their long and honest work and truly deserved reputation they have proven their right to hold leading positions. The CPSU and the people highly value their difficult toil and great merits, and give them suitable credit.

I believe that the familiar and properly mastered concept that cadre stability is needed in principle requires no proof. However, this must not be taken to

extremes or, if you wish, to a point of absurdity. We know all too well what this led to and the price that we must pay to this day for an artificial stability which, essentially, turned into cadre stagnation.

On the other hand, another and equally alarming trend existed in cadre work, particularly on the primary level of the national economy: quick changes, leap-frogging in cadres of managers of industrial enterprises, construction projects, kolkhozes, sovkhozes and other organizations.

You are aware of the great role which highly skilled production organizers play. Managers of collectives--communists and nonparty people--are the party's main bulwark in the implementation of its socioeconomic policy; they bear the heavy burden of implementing a variety of assignments. I therefore ask: How could it happen that in a number of rayons and oblasts all managers of labor collectives were replaced within a few years' span?

This is possible only when live work with cadres, real concern for their political and professional growth and giving them practical aid are set aside and replaced by bureaucratic administration and hasty and sometimes inconsiderate views regarding their activities and possibilities. In my view, this very serious admonition must be accepted by the party committees which must draw proper conclusions from it.

Unfortunately, there also are party committees and secretaries who conceal their blunders and even failures in their work behind ostentatious demands of cadres, and false principle-mindedness, without consideration either for the essence of the work or the fate of people.

In this connection, let me mention yet another inadmissible phenomenon: the intolerance displayed by some managers of independent actions and thoughts by subordinates. It frequently happens that the moment someone starts expressing independent views which may not coincide with those of the party committee secretary or the manager of a ministry, department, enterprise, establishment or organization, efforts are made to get rid of that person, using all sorts of pretexts, claiming that this is for the better. But for the better of what? The project? Nothing of the sort! In terms of the project, this is always for the worse.

In this respect as well all of us must learn from V.I. Lenin who was able, better than anyone else, to unite people, to organize joint work, to support and carefully hear out initiative-minded party comrades and, if necessary, patiently to turn them around. We must learn principle-mindedness, exigency and attentiveness.

The fourth lesson in our cadre work is that we must increase responsibility for assignments, enhance discipline and create an atmosphere of reciprocal exigency. How could it happen, comrades, that for decades managers who were unable to cope with their obligations, people without a feeling of obligation and discipline, could keep their leading positions on the rayon, city, oblast, republic and even union levels?

The consequences of this are well-known. For many years a number of sectors, including ferrous metallurgy, the coal industry, railroad transportation, machine-tool building, agricultural machine building, the meat and dairy industry and some others were headed by managers who were unable to meet assignments. Although everyone knew this and although the state of affairs in individual sectors was frequently criticized at USSR Supreme Soviet sessions, Central Committee plenums and even party congresses, nothing changed.

Were there not oblasts, republics, cities and rayons in which production plans remained unfulfilled and social problems neglected for many years? Meanwhile, their leaders bore no responsibility whatsoever for work failures. They got away with it.

The same could be said of some heads of enterprises, economic organizations, and health care, education, science, culture and media institutions: they began to neglect their work a long time ago; they are not coping with their obligations but, as the saying goes, they can throw dust in our eyes and can use a good turn of phrase. Until recently this appeared sufficient for keeping one's job.

It also happens that a manager is the wrong person for the job. The trouble is that the job is beyond his forces. What to do in such a case? I believe that such errors must be acknowledged and corrected and, without dramatizing them, the person must be given work according to his possibilities.

We neither must nor can be "kindly" at the expense of the interests of the party, society and the people. Our inviolable law is that the interests of the party and the people are supreme. True concern for cadres has nothing in common with tolerance, total forgiveness, philanthropy and making advances. This is another lesson which we must learn firmly.

Finally, another lesson: it would be legitimate to raise the following question at our plenum: Why was it that all such problems of cadre work, which had accumulated, were left for a such long time without attention or solution? How could this happen? As you can see, this is quite a serious question.

In the opinion of the Politburo, the main reason was the weakness of the democratic principles in cadre work. I have essentially already mentioned intraparty democracy as the main guarantee for the implementation of the party's strategic course and the tasks of restructuring. Suggestions and proposals were submitted on the radical subject of democratization, such as making CPSU agencies elective.

At this point, let me raise the question of upgrading the role of all elective bodies. Let us frankly admit that many serious errors in cadre work could have been avoided had such bodies been truly functional in the party, the state, the trade unions and other public organizations.

Let us, as they say, look at life with our eyes open: the role of the executive authorities has increased excessively to the detriment of the elective ones. On the surface everything seems normal. Plenums and sessions

and meetings of other elected agencies are being held regularly. Frequently, however, there work is formal; problems which are either secondary or already decided in advance are submitted to them for their discussion. As a result, the activities of the executive authorities and their leading cadres are not properly guided. Why conceal it, some comrades have begun to look at elected authorities as a source of nothing but hardships and hindrances. That is how far things have gone!

The result is the lowered role of soviet deputies and members of party and other collective organs in staffing executive committees, choosing cadres and controlling their activities. Is this not confirmed by the nature and style of relations between the professional apparatus and the members of elected bodies? Frequent efforts are being made by the personnel of the apparatus to issue orders to members of party committees and other public organizations and to soviet deputies. The result is that the democratic mechanism for setting up elected authorities and their work may exist but is by no means always functional and, consequently, is inefficient.

That is why, to repeat once again what we said on the development of socialist democracy under the conditions of restructuring, let me reemphasize the relevance and tremendous significance of the suggestions formulated on such problems. We must draft and implement the type of steps which will ensure the decisive role of collective elected authorities. No executive authorities, not to mention their apparatus, have the right to substitute themselves for the elected authorities or to dominate them.

The necessary political and legal prerequisites must be provided for the elected authorities to exercise efficient control over the executive apparatus and its organization and activities. This will provide a reliable protection from many errors, including those in cadre work.

I hope that the participants in this plenum properly understand the essential and full nature of this problem and the urgent need to solve it. One of the reasons for serious omissions in cadre policy is the weakened role of supervisory authorities, both in the party and in state and public organizations. These authorities ignored many reports on abuses and violations in a number of areas and sectors of the national economy and in oblast, kray and republic part committees. The control authorities frequently limited their work to superficial investigations and formal financial audits and considerations of various complaints and ordinary squabbles. Naturally, such problems also deserve attention but to limit the work exclusively to them is inadmissible, particularly today.

The 27th CPSU Congress set a new direction in the activities of supervisory authorities. It is important for all of them, from rayon to central, to justify they high purpose and set models of principle-mindedness and justice.

Generally speaking, comrades, we neither can nor should repeat the errors of the past. Yes, I believe that no one would allow us to do so.

Such are the main lessons learned from cadre policy which, in the view of the Politburo, must be reported to the plenum.

The main conclusion we must draw from them is that we must substantially update cadre policy, eliminate from it distortions and omissions and make it truly modern, more active and purposeful and inseparably linked with the key areas of the struggle for accelerated socioeconomic development.

I repeat, it is a question not simply of perfecting the organization of cadre work but of formulating a cadre policy consistent with the restructuring. It is only with such a broad approach to work with cadres that the implementation of profound and essentially revolutionary changes can be useful.

V.I. Lenin taught us to approach work with cadres above all politically, to consider it as inseparably related to the essence of problems resolved at a given stage, and to choose cadres "according to new criteria, based on their consistency with the new tasks..." (op cit., vol 45, p 447). What does this mean in terms of the contemporary stage in social development?

Today a decisive criterion in cadre policy, a kind of tuning fork for it, is the attitude of the cadres toward restructuring and the tasks of accelerating the country's socioeconomic development, an attitude expressed not in words but in actions. Naturally, we must take into consideration the fact that for a long time cadre activities were shaped under circumstances which were by no means the best. That is what makes change difficult. Painstaking and persistent work awaits us in restructuring the corps of cadres.

We have firmly charted a course of supporting people who are initiative-minded, thinking and energetic, who can and want to go forth boldly, who are able to achieve success. We have many such people. The resolutions of the April Plenum and the 27th Congress inspired them and provided broad scope for creative activities. Look at the new vivid and powerful way in which the talents of economic managers such as Vladimir Pavlovich Kabaidze in Ivanovo, Boris Ivanovich Fomin, at Leningrad's Elektrosila, Anatoliy Alekseyevich Parshin, at Krasnyy Kotelshchik in Taganrog, Ivan Vasilyevich Frantsenyuk, at the Novolipetsk Metallurgical Combine, Raisa Georgiyevna Roshchinskaya, director of the clothing factory in Novocherkassk, Yuriy Ivanovich Baranov, director of the Sotsialisticheskiy Donbass Mining Administration in Donetsk, Nikolay Ilich Travkin, manager of Mosoblselstroy Trust No 18, Aleksandr Nikolayevich Duduk, director of the Mir Sovkhoz-Combine in Belorussia, Mikhail Ivanovich Klepikov, the noted brigade leader in the Kuban, Kolkhoz Chairman Vasiliy Yakovlevich Gorin in Belgorod Oblast, Nikolay Dmitriyevich Tereshchenko, in Stavropol, Mikhail Griroryevich Vagin, in Gorkiy, Yuriy Fedorovich Bugakov, in Novosibirsk Oblast, and a great many others are developing.

We must learn how to give comprehensive support to such workers and value their autonomy and initiative. It is important to create in each party organization and labor collective an atmosphere which would encourage everyone to seek efficient solutions and to promote extremely open and frank exchanges of views. Naturally, we must firmly discard so-called methods such as blowing up, persecution and priming, methods which, to this day, are frequently used. We want to restructure not to shake up cadres. We must respect the people, comrades, and trust them more.

Today everyone has the opportunity of displaying his abilities. We must help with our advice and comradely exigency those who want to work. Naturally, we shall not go along with those who cling to the old, who remain indifferent to changes or even simply oppose them.

Therefore, the attitude toward restructuring and real accomplishments is a decisive approach in the assessment of cadres. Naturally, we must take into consideration other essential qualities as well. I am referring, above all, to intolerance of shortcomings, routine, indifference and a passive attitude, and support of everything advanced and progressive.

Restructuring demands of the personnel competence and a high degree of professionalism. Today we cannot do without modern and comprehensive training and without extensive knowledge of production, science, technology, management, economics, labor organization and incentive and psychology. In general, we must maximally put into motion the intellectual potential of the country and substantially upgrade its creative results.

Organization and discipline are assuming increasing importance. They are needed always and in everything. However, they are particularly important under contemporary production conditions and with the extensive use of latest technologies. In recent years we have achieved a substantial increase in the pace of economic growth by introducing elementary order and eliminating disorder.

This task, however, remains relevant. Loose discipline and reduced responsibility have sunk very deep roots and are still being felt painfully. It is precisely criminal irresponsibility and slackness that were the main reasons for tragic events such as the accident at the Chernobyl Nuclear Power Plant, the loss of the "Admiral Nakhimov" steamship and a number of air and railroad accidents which cost human lives.

The situation everywhere must be such as to exclude any possibility of recurrences of this kind. Organization, efficiency and dependability must become the universal law.

Finally, the most important requirement is that of the high morality of our cadres, and human features such as honesty, incorruptibility and modesty. We already know, from both past and present experience, that we shall not be able to solve the problem of restructuring without strengthening the moral health of the society. It is no accident that today we have clashed so sharply with negative phenomena precisely in the moral sphere. I am referring to the struggle for uprooting drunkenness, theft, bribery, abuse of official position and favoritism.

Society reacts particularly sharply to anything related to the moral aspect of party members, managers above all. Our prime task is to restore the pure and honest image of the party member-manager, an image which was somewhat tarnished by the crimes committed by a number of degenerates.

In general, comrades, taking into consideration the requirements of our time, we must decisively restructure cadre work in all economic sectors, areas of social life and levels of management, both central and local.

The Politburo interprets the essence and the main task of contemporary cadre policy above all as one of increasing the party's exigency toward itself and its cadres. Intensified restructuring in society means restructuring the work of the party and its cadres on all levels, from Central Committee to primary organization. It means creatively interpreting and systematically implementing the Leninist principles and norms of party life on all levels.

How is restructuring in the party proceeding and what kind of example are the party committees, party managers and activists setting?

Today we can say that the majority of party committees and their leaders have taken up this project with a feeling of high responsibility and sincere desire. They are still unable to accomplish a great deal but, with every passing day, they are gathering experience and acting more confidently. Such changes are creating reliable grounds for the acceleration of our movement.

All cadres are taking the restructuring test. However, they passing grades vary. A visible gap has developed between those who are decisively moving ahead and those who are marking time. Some party leaders find the school of restructuring difficult. They are totally unable to abandon dispatching functions, which are extraneous to party committees, the aspiration to solve everybody's problems and to hold everything in their own hands, as the saying goes. As in the past, this hinders the growth of cadre responsibility for assignments and the development of their initiative and independence.

Frequently, instead of encouraging innovations, the party workers painfully react to the initiative and activeness of people, considering them virtual natural disasters. Yet under the conditions of restructuring the prime obligation of party committees is to head the creativity of the masses and help the people to uproot shortcomings faster and properly organize the work. At the same time, we must caution the comrades against artificially hastening events and anticipating. The restructuring and acceleration of our movement are based on the objective laws governing the development of society. However, as is the case with any social movement, the role of the subjective, the personal aspect here as well is quite important. Its influence could be either positive or negative. It is extremely important, therefore, for the renovation process, which substantially affects human destinies, to be reliably protected from recurrences of open bureaucratic administration and a mechanical approach to things. A devaluation of the concept of restructuring must not be allowed anywhere, in any one unit of our social and production system. We must notice and immediately react when time-serving, personal ambitions and self-seeking considerations are manifested under its banner, and when specific work in restructuring is replaced by high sounding statements and phrase-mongering.

Let me repeat that without the development of democracy and the extensive participation of the working people we shall not be able to implement the tasks of restructuring. The party committees and all cadres must learn how to

work under circumstances of growing democracy and increasing political and labor activeness of the people.

We have frequently been able to see that the restructuring gathers strength faster wherever the party raykoms and gorkoms act more energetically, in a new style. This is understandable, for they are the closest to the primary party organizations and labor collectives and, therefore, lead the struggle for accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. The majority of these committees have assumed proper positions and have begun to implement the party's course of restructuring decisively and systematically.

Nonetheless, the study of local situations, articles in the press and letters addressed by the working people to the party's Central Committee indicate that a number of city and rayon party committees, whose personnel continue to live in the past and act as of old, remain somehow on the margin of the restructuring. Even if this were the case of a single gorkom or raykom, the fact should not be ignored. In this case, however, we are dealing with a widespread phenomenon. This, comrades, must be a matter of concern to us. In frequent cases such a situation in city and rayon party committees is explained by the work style, methods and outlook of committee secretaries.

I believe that we should pay greater attention to this most important party unit and to help raykoms and gorkoms adopt faster an active stance in the restructuring. This will improve even further the work of the primary party organizations in leading the labor collectives in the implementation of assignments. We can see how the activeness of party members is growing steadily and the way inertness and formalism in the activities of party organizations are being eliminated and defeated. However, this as well is another as yet virgin area of work. The primary party organizations need efficient aid and support.

Comrades! Economic cadres have a tremendous responsibility for the implementation of the strategic course of accelerating socioeconomic development. A turn from administrative to economic management methods and to responsible and creative management is taking place in the country.

Today substantial financial and material and technical resources for retooling the production process and solving social problems are being put at the disposal of labor collectives in enterprises and associations. Managers are being granted extensive rights not only for purposes of tactical economic maneuvering but also for the implementation of long-term objectives within the framework of the 5-year period and beyond it. In a word, a new economic, social and political situation is being created in which energetic and knowledgeable economic managers can properly display their capabilities.

The majority of economic cadres welcome the major steps taken by the party and the government in reforming management and are joining ever more actively in their practical implementation. We can already see a good beginning in the implementation of many useful initiatives. The experience of the people of Leningrad and Kharkov in converting to multiple-shift work in industrial enterprises is increasingly spreading and already yielding initial results.

In Leningrad and Leningrad Oblast virtually all leading enterprises have already converted to a two- or three-shift work. This has made it possible to increase the number of second-shift workers by almost 50,000. Capital assets are now better used and renovated faster. It has become possible to release 350,000 square meters of work areas and reduce the need for new construction by 120,000 square meters. Preliminary estimates indicate that this will yield savings in excess of 100 million rubles in capital investments, most of which will be channeled into the construction of housing and other social projects.

Managers and specialists of associations and enterprises which as of this year are working on the basis of total cost accounting and self-financing, following the example of the VAZ and the Sumy Machine Building Association imeni Frunze are displaying great creativity.

Interesting experience in mastering the new economic management methods has been acquired at the Belorussian and several other railroads. This ensures improvements in work indicators in this sector and enhanced labor productivity. The labor collectives in several oblasts in the Ukraine displayed cunning and economic enterprise in extensively developing a movement for the conservation of resources. Worthy of support is the initiative of miner and metallurgical worker brigades which are finding reserves for implementing plans ahead of schedule. A good example is being set by the labor collectives in Sverdlovsk, Lipetsk and some other towns in solving housing and other social problems.

The scale of growing grain and many other crops based on the use of industrial technologies is increasing in the countryside. Kolkhozes and sovkhozes are organizing cost accounting contracting collectives which are rapidly increasing agricultural output and improving economic efficiency.

Nonetheless, we must frankly say that the process of mastering contemporary economic management methods and approaches to the work by cadres is proceeding with difficulties and contradictions, painful phenomena and recurrences of old methods. A clear example of this is the introduction of the state inspection system. Realizing the tremendous importance of this step, many collectives properly prepared themselves for work under the new conditions. This is not taking place without difficulty but is nevertheless progressing. Labor discipline is strengthening and production quality improving.

However, there also are those who have adopted a passive attitude in the face of the strict requirements. Instead of rolling up their sleeves and undertaking to improve quality, they started by scaring themselves and others with mentions of possible complications, conflict situations and even bringing plant work to a stop.

Comrades, I have not the slightest intention of simplifying the situation. What is clear, however, is that we, communists and all Soviet people, can no longer tolerate the fact that for many years a number of enterprises have produced commodities which have become hopelessly obsolete, have been severely criticized by consumers and have held back the country's scientific and technical progress. We have taken up a major project and must complete it.

The conversion to economic management methods and the expansion of association and enterprise rights create a new situation for ministries and departments. At our June 1986 Central Committee Plenum we already discussed problems of restructuring their work style and methods. What has been accomplished since then?

Although slowly and not without pain, changes are being made in the work of ministries and departments. Sectorial headquarters are directly participating in formulating suggestions on converting enterprises to new economic management conditions. They are paying greater attention to problems of scientific and technical policy, enterprise restructuring and converting to the production of commodities consistent with contemporary requirements.

We have reinforced some sectors and their subdivisions with capable people. As a rule, energetic specialists willing to reorganize the work and ensure the application of modern working methods have assumed managerial positions. This line must be pursued and the activities of ministries and departments must be energetically improved by hiring initiative-minded and highly skilled cadres.

Nevertheless, we continue to come across cases of red tape and irresponsibility in the work of ministries and departments in implementing party and governmental decrees. It is as though the machinery is trapped by the old concepts and instructions, operating by inertia and unwilling to give up its prerogatives.

This is not the first time, comrades, that we have drawn the attention of ministry and department heads and personnel to the need for a radical restructuring of their activities. This gives everyone the opportunity of joining in such work and mastering new approaches to it. However, we must not allow for a ministry or its personnel to stay idle, not to mention to hinder restructuring. This warning from the rostrum of this plenum is necessary, for it affects the interests of the state and the people and major policy matters. It is pertinent to recall at this point Lenin's instruction: "...it is the apparatus that must serve the policy....and not the policy that must serve the apparatus!!" (op cit., vol 43, p 373).

The restructuring of foreign economic activities and granting many ministries and associations the right directly to offer their products at foreign markets, and all enterprises the right to establish direct cooperation relations with partners from the socialist countries set new conditions for the cadres. This is something which sectorial ministries have wanted for a long time.

However, one must well realize that success in foreign economic activities is possible only with the active utilization of the achievements of science and technology, proper cadre training, opening new markets, etc. The main prerequisite for the utilization of such opportunities is undertaking the production of goods consistent with global quality standards.

In the aftermath of decision making, much time and efforts were spent on various organizational problems, establishing rights and obligations and determining relations between foreign trade organizations and sectorial

management authorities. This organizational period has ended. Now the efforts must shift to practical accomplishments. We must more energetically undertake to organize foreign economic relations with all foreign partners, those in the socialist countries above all.

I have already mentioned on previous occasions that success in implementing the strategy of acceleration depends above all on the way we can solve the problems of scientific and technical progress and the skill with which we can combine the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution.

In this case the real accomplishments are determined by the level of scientific knowledge and the formulation of original ideas which can be converted into essentially new models of machines and technologies and which will enable us to advance in the leading areas of science and technology. Such is the strategic task which restructuring sets to science.

Everything is important in its implementation, from the enrollment of students in VUZs and the quality of specialists' training to staffing the USSR Academy of Sciences with talented scientists, from the work of scientific student societies to the research programs of leading academic and sectorial institutes, and from the creative atmosphere in scientific collectives to the most efficient forms of organization and incentives in science.

Today the integration of science with production has become particularly important. Intersectorial scientific and technical complexes play an important part in this project. Today more than 20 such complexes have been created. We invest great hope in the activities of such complexes in accelerating the development of new ideas and especially in applying scientific and technical accomplishments. That is why greater attention must be paid to the work of intersectorial scientific and technical complexes. The USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium and the respective ministries and departments must supply them with everything they need, give them the necessary assistance and comprehensively assist them in their efficient efforts.

As in the past, crucial and largely unsolved important problems remain, such as establishing efficient coordination among academic, VUZ and sectorial science, integrating the efforts of the natural, technical and social sciences, ensuring the comprehensiveness of research and the profound formulation of basic problems, and upgrading the efficiency of specific development projects.

On behalf of the plenum, I turn to our scientists and all scientific workers: in order for science to become an active participant in restructuring it must greatly restructure itself. Life is urging us on. Those who do not come up with advanced ideas risks to fall behind in everything. This is the way in which our time formulates the problem, a time of most profound changes in science and technology, unparalleled in the history of mankind.

This makes it incumbent upon party committees, ministries, departments and economic authorities to face the needs of science which must steadily feel

their active support. We know that the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium and its president, Academician G.I. Marchuk, have interesting ideas and suggestions to this effect. I can assure them that they will be supported by the Central Committee and the government.

The prospects for socioeconomic, scientific and technical and spiritual progress are largely determined by the system and quality of education. We have undertaken a reform of general education and vocational schools. Obviously, it cannot develop simply, for which reason it requires tireless attention in all areas, from strengthening the material and technical facilities of schools to the content and ways and means applied in the training and education process. Decisions have been made on the reorganization of higher and secondary specialized education and increasing the wages of higher school personnel and scholarships of undergraduates and post-graduates. All of this offers favorable prerequisites for the accelerated development of science and production and for implementing the resolutions of the party congress. Such resolutions must be implemented and high end results must be achieved faster.

The system for upgrading the skill and retraining of specialists will be restructured. Under contemporary production conditions specific knowledge, ability and skills must be steadily increased and perfected in all workers. The creation of a state system for continuing education was considered by the 27th Congress one of the most important tasks which we must implement. It is precisely thus that we can maintain the competence of cadres on the level of contemporary requirements, particularly in the advanced and most advanced technological areas. It is hardly necessary to prove how important it is to accelerate the formulation of suggestions on this question.

Finally, let me say a few words on the task of cadres in our planning, financial and other economic agencies. Today they must radically restructure their work in accordance with the tasks of the economic reform.

The country's economic departments have submitted a number of suggestions on restructuring management and the economic mechanism. Frankly, however, their own cadres are restructuring themselves slowly and, I would even say, are falling behind economic changes in the production area. Yet all that is taking place in that area requires significant changes in the functions of general economic departments and their local authorities.

The political stipulations formulated at the 27th Congress must serve as their guideline. The purpose of the economic reform in the country includes both the extensive development of the autonomy of primary economic units as well as the further strengthening of centralization in management while, at the same time, relieving the central authorities from the petty supervision of sectors, associations and enterprises. All cadres, managers of economic departments above all, must act today precisely in this key and abandon their old approaches to the work.

Another question directly related to the activities of economic and management cadres is the following: the 12th 5-Year Plan pays particular attention to the development of the social sphere. This is dictated by the state of

affairs in this area. We must close faster the gap which has formed between the levels of development in the production and social areas.

The party congress made substantial changes in the political concepts regarding such problems. It concluded that the insufficient attention paid to the social sphere was one of the reasons for a lagging scientific and technical progress and increased production efficiency and hindered the utilization of the existing potential.

The fact that for many years economic managers were not held truly accountable for solving social problems deeply influenced their approaches to the work. The existing situation must be firmly corrected. It will be difficult to accomplish this without the firm position which party committees must assume and without the systematic practical steps taken by the government.

Consider the latest example. The first section of the Astrakhan gas complex was completed at the end of last year. This represented capital investments in excess of 1.5 billion rubles; the complex employs a collective of 8,000 workers and specialists. However, only 3,000 of them have permanent housing. From the very beginning a lag in the building of housing, polyclinics, cafeterias and other sociocultural projects was included in the plan. Such is the pitiful result of an improper, an erroneous approach to social affairs by the planning authorities. Such matters must be corrected faster.

All leading cadres, from top to bottom, are responsible for the implementation of the party's active social policy. Life itself demanded that the interests of the individual become the base in the activities of leading cadres and that the ability to solve social problems become one of the main criteria in gauging their practical and political maturity.

Comrades! The soviet, trade union, Komsomol and other public organizations and their cadres play a major role in implementing the resolutions of the 27th Congress. They too face in its entire magnitude the task of restructuring their activities which, actually, has already begun.

What direction should it take? The political significance of this question is for it is a matter of very important institutions within our political system. In the restructuring process we must take into consideration the current situation, the overall trend in the development of Soviet society, the political system, socialist democracy and the economic mechanism.

Let me reemphasize that the line of democratization and of the establishment of a new administrative and economic management mechanism provides opportunities for properly combining the party's political leadership with the active role of state agencies, trade unions and other public organizations.

We have already made fundamental decisions on improving the activities of soviets under present circumstances. These resolutions will enable them to prove themselves as the true authorities on their territory. The changes taking place in the activities of soviets remain unsatisfactory. All of us are interested in having the soviets work properly and faster, in the spirit of the times.

The party committees must firmly chart a line of upgrading the role of the soviets and prevent any groundless interference in their affairs, not to mention their substitution. It is equally important for the heads of the soviets, for the soviet apparatus, to start working at full capacity and to eliminate inertia and the habit of always relying on someone and waiting for instructions. We must strengthen the democratic principles in the activities of soviets and their executive bodies.

At the 27th Congress we said that there are many problems related to the basic interests of the working people which the soviets alone can solve. This applies to social policy and improving consumer services. However, the soviets have not fully mastered their new rights and are not informing economic managers of their requirements. This is another reason for not fulfilling several plan indicators related to sociocultural building in 1986.

Or else let us consider the communal economy. A great deal of criticism of its work was leveled, particularly during the cold season! Yet this is the most direct area of soviet work. The soviets must radically change the nature of their work in improving trade, consumer services, organizing the recreation of the working people and the production of consumer goods. They must use more extensively existing reserves in increasing food resources.

We are planning major steps in health care and public education. They are most directly related to the activities of soviets on different levels. Therefore, the problems are increasing and the soviets must act more efficiently and persistently. That is what we have the right to demand of soviet cadres. This is what the Soviet people expect of them.

All aspects of restructuring affect the trade unions. Their rights are being substantially expanded with the increased economic autonomy of enterprises and associations. At the same time, their responsibility is significantly enhanced in connection with the increased rights of labor collectives and the development of self-government. Naturally, no one relieves the trade unions from the obligation of solving problems of social policy and defending the interests of the working people.

Briefly stated, requirements facing the cadres in trade union bodies have increased drastically. They must be helped to take an active stance in restructuring and conditions must be created for their more extensive participation in management decision-making on all levels.

Currently, as accountability reports and elections are winding up in the trade union organizations, and the approaching regular congress of Soviet trade unions, it is important for this entire set of topical problems related to restructuring to become the focal point of attention of the delegates to the congress. The labor collectives are the main link in the restructuring. It is precisely there that the trade unions must show their potential, reassess their possibilities and rights and thus increase their contribution to the nationwide socioeconomic acceleration.

In mounting the struggle for social improvements, from the very beginning the party has proceeded from the fact that this tremendous project must be based

on firm convictions. Shaping the awareness of millions of working people in the spirit of restructuring is one of the key trends in ideological work.

To a certain extent we have been able to take such work closer to life and to current social processes. Credit for the fact that the masses are becoming truly interested in renovation goes largely to the party organizations and our propaganda cadres. However, work on the ideological front must be developed to an even greater extent in all areas, including political and economic training, lectures, foreign policy propaganda, atheistic upbringing, etc.

The Central Committee is directing the party organizations toward involving in the entire party aktiv and all party members in ideological work. However, this does not solve in the least the problem of strengthening ideological sectors with highly skilled and trained cadres, keenly sensing the pulse-beat of our time, displaying a profound understanding of the nature of assignments, efficiently spreading party policy and persuading and organizing people.

Present conditions urgently demand that the party's ideological corps consist of people with suitable knowledge of economics, law, philosophy, sociology, literature and art, people with an inner conviction of the vital need for the decisions adopted at the 27th Congress and restructuring.

Comrades! New responsible assignments for the personnel of Soviet courts, prosecution, militia and other law enforcement authorities stem from the need to strengthen socialist law and order in the country.

The Central Committee, which ascribes tremendous importance to such sensitive problems to society, recently passed a special decree "On the Further Strengthening of Socialist Law and Order and Strengthening the Protection of the Rights and Legitimate Interests of the Citizens." This decree sets important and more difficult tasks to law enforcement authorities and their cadres. The party committees and soviet authorities must comprehensively enhance the reputation and principle-mindedness of the personnel of the courts and the prosecution, justice and militia, arbitration and notary system. They must support the voluntary members of the public order protection units and assist in the dissemination of legal knowledge.

This type of party stance sets a great deal of obligations to those who enforce the law. Working people's letters and reports from local areas indicate that the law enforcement authorities themselves commit a great deal of violations. Here and there they are "firing," as the saying goes, "at sparrows with canons," while leaving undetected severe crimes committed against the interests of society and the citizens.

We have given to the law enforcement authorities the task of firmly implementing the stipulations of the decree and persistently learning how to work under the conditions of expanded democracy and openness, relying on the trust and support of the entire people.

A few words on the cadres in the diplomatic corps. Currently the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is reorganizing its work and the structure of its central apparatus and institutions abroad. Its leading personnel is being renovated.

This line must be pursued steadily, upgrading the efficiency of diplomatic services, making them entirely consistent with the energetic international activities of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

The state security organs are vigilantly protecting the homeland's interests with their ideologically hardened and ably trained cadres, loyal to the party and the people. We are confident that the Soviet Chekists will continue promptly to expose and firmly block enemy intrigues against our country.

Finally, the tasks of military cadres. Not even for a minute does the party weaken its efforts to enhance further the defense capability of the country. It assigns military cadres a special role in solving this vitally important problem. This precisely is what determines their tremendous responsibility to the people. A restructuring is taking place in the Soviet armed forces as well. They are reliably protecting the peaceful toil of the people and the country's safety and are honorably fulfilling their international duty.

The Central Committee firmly relies on the army cadres and the Soviet officer corps in strengthening the defense capability of the state and is confident that under the present difficult international situation the party members and all army and navy cadres will act with the greatest possible responsibility, and enhance and improve the skill and combat readiness of all services and branches of the armed forces. The Soviet people and our party rely on their armed forces and do everything possible to strengthen them. They have the right to expect that no aggressive forces could surprise us.

Comrades! In conclusion, let me mention briefly the problems which must be solved in 1987. For us this year is especially significant, for it is the year of the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. The Soviet people will welcome this anniversary in an atmosphere of profound restructuring in all areas of society. The Politburo believes that it would be suitable to adopt this year an appeal to all party members and working people in the USSR.

The Central Committee calls upon the party members and all Soviet people to become more deeply imbued with an awareness and feeling of responsibility for what must be accomplished, for the destinies of the country and the future image of socialism. We have accomplished a great deal in the decades of building socialism. Time, however, faces us with new strict requirements. Under the changed circumstances, Soviet society is tested once again for its dynamism and ability rapidly to advance on the ladder of progress.

Our economy is being tested for high efficiency, use of advanced technology, ability to produce first-rate items and to compete on the world markets. Our morality and entire Soviet way of life are being tested for their ability steadily to develop and enrich the values of socialist democracy, social justice and humanism. Our foreign policy is being tested for its firmness and consistency in defending peace and its flexibility and restraint under conditions of the feverish arms race promoted by imperialism and the worsening of international tension by its fault.

In terms of the depth of revolutionary nature and bolshevik daring of the plans and humanistic social trend, the work we are doing today is the direct

extension of the great accomplishments initiated by our Leninist party in the October 1917.

Today the entire world is looking at the Soviet people: shall we cope, shall be strong enough, shall we properly respond to the challenge hurled at socialism? We must provide a proper answer to these questions through our actions and persistent efforts, an answer which we cannot delay.

As you can well understand, comrades, 1987 will play a most important part in implementing the party's strategic course of acceleration. The success of the entire 5-year period, our most important initiatives and the implementation of our long-range plans will depend on our joint work. That is why, it is so important to concentrate from the start on specific actions and on the implementation of resolutions. In general, we need painstaking, daily yet extremely important work by party committees and organizations and all labor collectives in implementing the congress' resolutions.

We must not only consolidate and develop our accomplishments in the first year of the 5-year period in all economic sectors and areas of life but also advance further and introduce more extensively long-term growth factors in our work. Substantial positive changes must be achieved in all such areas and made irreversible.

In directing the cadres toward solving current problems and toward the strict implementation of the 12th 5-Year Plan, we must, as V.I. Lenin taught us, not to lose our perspective; we must concretize and refine ways of economic and social progress. The drafting of the 13th 5-Year Plan is about to begin. It will be based on the new management system, which will enable us to make fuller use of the opportunities and advantages of socialism.

Considering that the developed radical reform in economic management affects basic aspects of the functioning of the socialist economic system and many aspects of political and social life and work style and methods, it would be expedient to consider this entire range of problems at the next Central Committee Plenum.

It is with such increasing tasks that we turn to our cadres. They must be organized and efficient in their work and learn how maximally to harness the creative forces and possibilities of labor collectives. They must learn how to react quickly and efficiently to arising problems and hardships which are bound to appear, for the problems to be solved are new and difficult. Essentially, all of us must take a political test in maturity in mastering the new methods of work and management in all sectors of building socialism.

Briefly, the new year has also brought new and very important assignments in the implementation of the general course charted by the 27th Congress. The Politburo is confident that the ideas of the congress, profoundly realized by all of our cadres, ideas which have captured their minds and thoughts, will make their way in life with increasing persistence and scope, determining the course of our development and leading the country to qualitatively new levels of economic, social and spiritual progress.

The only possible summation here is that all of us together and everyone separately must contribute to this work. The mobilizing role of our party and of all of its organizations and all party members must be manifested with particular emphasis under the new circumstances. We must keep our fingers on the pulse-beat of life at all times and do everything that is necessary for the implementation of the plans.

In this connection, I would like to consult with you on the following basic problem: would it be expedient to summon next year, on the eve of the accountability and election campaign in the party, an all-union party conference at which the implementation of the resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress would be considered on a broad basis and the results of the first half of the 5-year period would be summed up? Such a conference could also deal with problems of the further democratization of party life and society.

The discussion initiated at such a conference could be continued at the accountability and election party meetings and conferences, at which the results of the restructuring work done by each party organization would be subject to strict review.

The very fact of holding an all-union party conference, in accordance with the CPSU statutes, would be a major step in the practical democratization of our party life and in encouraging the activeness of party members.

Comrades! In formulating cadre policy under the conditions of restructuring and acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development, the party's Central Committee Plenum sets the main trends of our work for long years ahead. Today, here, we keep turning to Vladimir Ilich Lenin and his thoughts and ideas, not simply as a sign of profound respect or recognition of his authority but as a mark of our persistent aspiration to restore under present conditions, as fully as possible, the spirit of Leninism and to assert in our life Lenin's demands toward cadres. Remember how passionately and tirelessly Lenin taught that success in the revolutionary struggle and in any radical restructuring of society is largely determined by the mood set by the party.

We wish to make our country the model of a highly developed state, a society with a most advanced economy, widest democracy and most humane and lofty morality, in which the working person would feel himself the full owner and would be able to enjoy all the benefits of material and spiritual culture, where his children would have a confident future and where he would have everything required for a rich and meaningful life. Even the skeptics should be forced to say: yes, the Bolsheviks can do anything. Yes, truth is on their side. Yes, socialism is a system which serves the good of man, his social and economic interest and his spiritual ennoblement.

(The speech was heard with great attention and accompanied by prolonged applause).

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CONCLUDING SPEECH BY M.S. GORBACHEV, 28 JANUARY 1987

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 87 (signed to press 2 Feb 87) pp 48-52

[Text] Comrades! Our plenum is completing its work and the discussion of the main topic on its agenda. The atmosphere in which it was held and the debates indicate the prevailing unity of views on all problems submitted for consideration and resolution by the party's Central Committee Plenum. This is not a formal unity but unity based on understanding of the responsibility of the Central Committee for the successful implementation of the strategic course formulated at the April Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress.

Now, with the conclusion of the debates and when a resolution must be adopted, the following question arises naturally: Did our plenum justify the expectations of the party members and the Soviet people? How must we answer this question? Even by the strictest possible measure, today's plenum is a major political event in the life of the CPSU and of Soviet society.

We believe that we have reasons to say that the plenum is substantially moving the party, the country, the entire society on the path of restructuring. However, its significance can be manifested in its full magnitude only under one mandatory condition: that everything we agreed upon here is systematically implemented by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, the central committees of communist parties of union republics, the party kraykoms, obkoms, okrushkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, and all party organizations in the country.

I would therefore put it as follows: the plenum will justify the expectations if we follow it up in this manner. This plenum is laying the fundamental prerequisites for further substantial progress in acceleration and restructuring and perfecting cadre policy, consistent with the tasks of the present stage of historical development.

The broad debates in which 34 of the 77 comrades who registered to speak participated, gave us a unique opportunity to consider from different levels and directions the work of the party and the state, to take yet another look at restructuring, to interpret its purpose and, once again, to assess first hand the restructuring process itself.

I believe that we have the right to say that most important to us is, above all, the plenum's political statement that the party and all healthy forces in society favor restructuring. Since such is the case, no other direction is possible. It is at this point that the discussion as to whether or not restructuring is needed should end. I fully agree with Comrade D.K. Motornyy, who said here that restructuring is no longer simply an idea but a reality.

The Soviet people link to restructuring their plans for life, the fate of the country and its international reputation and significance. Therefore, can we allow any hesitations in its implementation? No, comrades!

Yes, restructuring is already a reality. Today we realize more clearly and profoundly that from the viewpoint of the country's internal development and external conditions and the international situation we must ensure its accelerated socioeconomic development. However, there will be no acceleration without social renovation in the same way that there will be no restructuring in all areas of social life without renovation. The new problems and, to an even greater extent, the problems on a historical scale, which have now arisen cannot be solved with the old approaches.

Restructuring is not a walk along a trodden path. It is climbing a mountain, frequently following untried paths. As the Central Committee Plenum indicated yet once again, many problems have accumulated in our society. Tremendous creative efforts and a long and dedicated struggle will be necessary in order to complete the great restructuring project, as is demanded by our people and by the times in which we live.

We are only at the beginning of this path. This must be clearly stipulated at the Central Committee Plenum, for the understanding of where we are will also provide the understanding of what to do and how to act. Anyone who has already decided that he has restructured himself should be reminded that we have merely begun the restructuring and that the most important work lies ahead. This too is an important conclusion of the party's Central Committee Plenum.

In pursuing and developing restructuring, we must not fall into one extreme or another in our assessments. We must firmly stand on the only solid grounds, those of reality. An overassessment of our accomplishments would have fatal consequences; on the other hand, however, I must equally emphasize that we must not ignore even the slightest progress in restructuring, even minute experiences. This would be no less fatal. Above all, it would be inadmissible, perhaps simply for the following reason:

We are only beginning to develop the project and to give our political line specific approaches and defining the ways of achieving the objectives we have set to ourselves. We are only beginning to engage the mechanism and means of restructuring and taking the initial steps to make them work and yield returns. Looking at the results of 1986, however, we can already see that progress has been made.

How was this accomplished? It was the direct result of the support given by our people through restructuring and acceleration.

Can we fail to see this, or believe that nothing has taken place and nothing will take place? It is not he who throws revolutionary phraseology around who is a revolutionary but he who is able to see the future, to lead the party and the people in the lengthy and stubborn struggle, noting every step forward, using it in finding one more point of support for taking a new and even longer step. Today, at the Central Committee Plenum, we must express the party's tremendous gratitude to our people for having profoundly understood, with their souls and intuition, that they are being called upon to engage in a difficult struggle but a struggle for the type of change and objectives which will bring splendid results to the entire society, to every family and every individual. The Soviet people trusted us and supported the party. That is why the positive changes which were achieved in 1986 are of such importance to us. They are important because they reflect the powerful support given by our people to the party's policy and to its course of acceleration.

Let me emphasize other concepts voiced at the plenum. It seems to me that, quite justifiably, the Politburo report emphasized as the most important and serious topic that of intensifying the democratization of Soviet society.

Comrades, this is the lever which will enable us to involve the people in restructuring, as its decisive force. Unless we achieve this we shall not solve the problems of acceleration or achieve the restructuring, which will simply not take place.

On the other hand, in developing and promoting socialist democracy and highlighting its potential, we shall provide the most reliable guarantees against a repetition of the errors of the past. But there is more.

Unless we understand this, or even if we understand it but fail to take real serious steps to expand it and extensively to involve the working people in the country in the process of restructuring, our policies will misfire, and the restructuring will be gasping for breath, comrades. We need democracy like we need air.

This is our main thought. Like all members of the Politburo--at each break we exchanged views on the proceedings of the plenum--I am quite satisfied with the fact that this most important trend in CPSU activities at the present stage in the struggle for the targets of acceleration met with the full support of the Central Committee Plenum.

The Communist Party is firmly in favor of telling the people everything. Openness, criticism, self-criticism and control by the masses are guarantees for the healthy development of Soviet society. If they are needed by the people it means that they are needed by all. What makes this all the more important is that the CPSU is a ruling party. It is interested in openness, criticism and self-criticism, for these are real and reliable aspects of the normal functioning of the CPSU. These are precisely the means which can protect the party from errors in its policies. The cost of such errors is known to us all.

Today, at this plenum, all of us are reaching the single conclusion that we need openness, we need criticism and self-criticism as efficient forms of

socialist democracy. In our state--a state of workers and peasants--everything concerns the people, for this is their state. The people must know everything and judge of everything consciously (see "Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 35, p 21]. As you know, these words were V.I. Lenin's.

The people need the full truth. In this connection, I would like to recall Lenin's view expressed in a letter to the editors of ISKRA. "It is actually time," V.I. Lenin wrote, "firmly to reject the tradition of sectarian clickishness and--in a party which is based on the masses--raise the decisive slogan of more light, let the party know everything..." (op cit., vol 8, p 94). More than ever before, today we need more light so that the party and people may be aware of everything, so that there are no dark corners here where once again mold would develop or anything else against which we have mounted a decisive struggle today and are still far from completing it. For that reason, let there be more light!

With such a powerful party and patriotic people loyal to the ideals of socialism and their homeland, would we be unable to cope, should anyone try to profit from the extensive openness and democratic process for selfish and antisocial objectives, for defamatory purposes?

I would like to share with you an observation which came to me as I remembered my travels. In the past priority was frequently given to demagogues who displayed their "daring." Essentially, the demagogy was the following: Where are the chiefs looking, particularly those in Moscow? Today the situation is different. I reached this conclusion on the basis of dozens of meetings. Today, during open discussions with most unexpected audiences anywhere, in front of totally unprepared public, mature and serious people speak out. They raise practical problems, ask questions about things they do not understand or explain how one problem or another could be solved.

It is precisely the atmosphere of openness and democracy that enabled the working class, the peasantry, our intelligentsia, all healthy forces, to raise their heads high. The moment a demagogue appears they put him in his place. I have witnessed this personally dozens of times. The people will always find an answer to all questions.

Openness, criticism and self-criticism are simply necessary to us. They are the most important features of the socialist way of life. Anyone who thinks that we need them merely in order to criticize the shortcomings of the past is deeply mistaken. The main thing is that openness, criticism, self-criticism and democracy are needed for our progress and for the sake of solving tremendous problems. We cannot solve such problems without the active participation of the people. That is why we need all this.

And if it may seem to some that working in such a situation is difficult, let me remind them that 6 months ago I was already advising: start to learn how to work under the conditions of a developing democracy. Let us all learn!

The press must support openness in the country and inform our people. However, it must do this responsibly. Such is our expressed wish. It must

not slip into sensationalism or look for the "hot facts." We need a press which will be an active participant in restructuring!

Our work must become more efficient. Many comrades accurately pointed out here that there has already been too much talk.

This applies to everything, including the press. Today it is very important for us to see everything positive and constructive, to use it, to make it available to the entire party and people, to use the shoots of the new approaches in restructuring. Here as well more openness and the dissemination of anything progressive is necessary.

Starting with the January Central Committee Plenum we are entering, and I do not wish to be accused of inventing some new kind of stage, but we are nevertheless entering a new stage in our movement, in our restructuring efforts. Let me explain this: the situation has been analyzed, a political course has been charted and basic decisions on its implementation have been adopted. What is needed now is action and more action.

The people will judge ever more strictly our policy and reconstruction on the basis of the tangible results achieved in practical improvements of the working and living conditions of millions of them: the extent to which the organization of production has become more efficient, wages more equitable, housing construction faster, and trade, consumer services, urban transportation, polyclinics and hospitals better and the extent to which the moral climate in the party organization and the labor collective cleaner and fresher.

Briefly, we, communists, must prove the accuracy of our policy and the vitality of restructuring through thousands and thousands of facts of daily life. This raises particularly strict requirements toward cadres, directing them toward practical results. That is why it is so important today to intensify our efforts, to gather speed and to contribute to the work, as was mentioned in the report.

Let me particularly emphasize the importance of the problems we are solving in this anniversary year. These assignments are tremendous in scale and in the levels we much reach. They are particularly important from the viewpoint of mastering new economic management methods and converting the entire economy and many of its sectors to the new economic management principles.

Comrades, restructuring is a great school. It presents us with difficult problems. We must attend this school properly. Let me repeat: we must act, act and act again, energetically, daringly, creatively and competently! This, if you wish, is the main task of the present. It applies to all party organizations, party committees, managers and party members.

On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee I would like to turn to all party comrades, to all Soviet people: the restructuring, the revolutionary renovation of society and the destiny of the country are in the hands of the people. This destiny will be the one we shape through our common efforts, our minds and our consciences.

Restructuring is the front line in the struggle waged by every honest person and patriot. There is plenty of work for everyone and the road ahead is long.

We are firm in our aspiration to implement the resolutions of the 27th Congress. We shall strive for a qualitatively new condition in Soviet society. We are confident that restructuring is irreversible. The Central Committee members spoke out in favor of holding an all-union party conference. To the party such a conference is a most important political event. It is my understanding that even those who did not participate in the debates approve of this motion submitted at the plenum by the Politburo.

Comrades, we remember from history a number of conferences which at crucial stages helped us to see new ways and means of achieving set targets and solve problems which went far beyond the range of tactics.

We deem it expedient, and I am submitting this for your consideration, for the Politburo to draft at one of its first Central Committee plenums suggestions on the time and procedure for such a conference. We believe that a party conference will give a good charge to the accountability and election campaign and a new impetus in the work of the party and all of its organizations in restructuring.

Briefly, such are the considerations which I wished to express in concluding the debate which was held in the party's Central Committee Plenum.

I would like to thank all of you for your active participation in the work of the plenum and wish all its participants great successes in our common projects.

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**RESTRUCTURING AND PARTY CADRE POLICY: 28 JANUARY 1987 CPSU CENTRAL COMMITTEE  
PLENUM RESOLUTION**

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 87 (signed to press 2 Feb 87) pp 53-64

[Text] Having heard and discussed the report submitted by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, "On Restructuring and Party Cadre Policy," the CPSU Central Committee Plenum expresses full approval of the political and practical conclusions of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, based on the study of the situation which developed in Soviet society in the period preceding the April 1985 Central Committee Plenum, the principled assessment of the course of restructuring and the initial results of the implementation of the resolutions of the 27th Party Congress and the tasks of CPSU contemporary cadre policy, formulated by the Central Committee Politburo, which must be implemented by all party, state and public organizations.

I

The CPSU Central Committee notes that the time since the April 1985 Central Committee Plenum and the 27th CPSU Congress confirmed the accuracy and vital need for the strategic course of accelerating socioeconomic development and making qualitative changes in all aspects of life in our society, formulated by the party and supported by the Soviet people.

The achievements of the Soviet people in building socialism in the course of nearly 70 years after the victory of the Great October Revolution are tremendous and unquestionable. However, these successes should not conceal the fact that by the turn of the 1980s the country began to slacken its pace of progress. Difficulties and unsolved problems began to pile up in the economic, social and spiritual areas. Stagnation and other phenomena alien to socialism appeared. Despite the entire tremendous work done by the party and its cadres, the CPSU Central Committee and the country's leadership were unable to assess on time and to their fullest extent the threat presented by the growth of negative trends and to formulate an efficient policy for their elimination. Lessened attention to the development of theory and the study of the dialectics of motive forces and contradictions in developed socialism adversely affected the solution of urgent socioeconomic problems. Major shortcomings accumulated in the functioning of the institutions of socialist democracy, planning practices and management styles and methods. Many party

organizations were unable to remain on principled positions and failed to pay proper attention to the strict observance of the Leninist principles and norms of party life; they failed to wage a decisive struggle against negative phenomena, weakened discipline, and increased drunkenness, theft and bribery. Departmentalism, parochialism and nationalistic manifestations were not always properly rebuffed.

The plenum notes the exceptional importance of the fact that under those circumstances the party found within itself the necessary strength and courage to chart a course of restructuring, head it and organize work of a revolutionary nature, aimed at decisively eliminating stagnation phenomena and creating a reliable and efficient mechanism for accelerating the country's socioeconomic development. We simply have no way other than that of restructuring and nor can we retreat anywhere.

The end objective of restructuring is the renovation of all aspects of life of our society, giving socialism the most advanced forms of social organization, and bringing to light most fully the creative potential of the socialist system. In penetrating the deep layers of life and expanding along the entire front, restructuring is having an increasing influence on the situation in the country and is assuming new qualitative features.

The overall political result is that substantial changes are taking place in the life of Soviet society, positive trends are gathering strength and a new moral atmosphere is developing. Openness, truthfulness, intolerance of shortcomings and desire to improve matters are becoming increasingly asserted as active principles. In the first year of the 5-year period the national economy exceeded the planned levels for basic indicators and laid strong foundations for further progress.

However, the steps which are being taken and the work being done are not always consistent with the scale and gravity of the problems or carried out with proper efficiency and aggressiveness. Changes are being made with a great deal of difficulty in a number of most important areas, above all in efficiency, quality, development of science and technology and the social sphere. The mechanism which hinders socioeconomic development, which developed over a long period of time, is being sluggishly destroyed and is slowly surrendering its positions; conservatism, inertia and obsolete thinking have still not lost their force and influence.

The plenum considers the further enhancement of restructuring and increasing efforts in all its areas the most important task of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat, the central committees of communist parties of union republics, the party kraykoms, obkoms, okrushkoms, gorkoms and raykoms, and the party, state and public organizations. Today, at the initial stage, it is very important to assume positions of realism and objective assessment of accomplishments and to view accomplishments not only in comparison with the past but, above all, on the basis of the plans formulated and approved by the party and to promote in every party member and citizen a mood for extensive, stressed and dedicated work. This is the only proper party approach. The guarantee for success in restructuring lies in the efficient and conscientious work of absolutely everyone. Persistently, step by step and unhesitatingly,

we must implement the charted course, prevent a gap between decisions and their practical implementation and ensure the irreversibility of change.

The success of restructuring will be decisively determined by the speed and extent to which our cadres will become imbued with an understanding of the need for revolutionary change and the decisiveness, energy and competence with which they will act. These are the targets of the active and purposeful party cadre policy, based on the Leninist principles and consistent with the tasks of restructuring. Such policy must fully reflect the features of the contemporary situation and the nature and tasks of the present; it must ensure the high activeness of all party and state units and our entire social organism. Cadre policy is the decisive means of implementation of the CPSU programmatic objectives and a reliable tool which allows the party to provide political leadership in society and to formulate and successfully implement a strategic course consistent with the interests of the people and the strengthening and development of socialism.

## II

1. The plenum emphasizes that the increasing identification and utilization of the tremendous opportunities of socialism as the new social system, the perfecting of its economic foundations, the comprehensive development of socialist democracy and intensified people's self-government are the prerequisites for the accelerated socioeconomic development of the country. It is only on this basis that the live creativity of the toiling masses, their real participation in solving all problems of social life and the full manifestation of the human factor can be truly developed.

In approving specific steps taken in this direction, consistent with the stipulations of the 27th Party Congress, the plenum deems necessary the maximal utilization of the possibilities of broadening socialist democracy, developing the Soviet political system, giving a real democratic content to the work of party and state authorities and public organizations, and ensuring conditions for significantly strengthening the influence of the working people on the choice of cadres and in supervising their work. We must see to it that the primary party organizations make full use of their statutory duty of actively participating in the exercise of cadre policy.

2. The plenum ascribes prime importance to the development of democracy in production, the systematic application of self-government in the life of labor collectives and the creation of conditions which will allow every working person to feel himself the true owner of his enterprise. This must be the purpose of the creation of councils of labor collectives at enterprises and associations and granting them and the general meetings of collectives deciding rights in a great variety of production, social and cadre problems.

It considers necessary to introduce the principle of electing managers of enterprises, production facilities, shops, departments, sections, livestock farms and teams, and brigade leaders and foremen. The practice must be popularized and conditions formulated for the application of the competitive system in choosing and replacing managers and specialists.

Under the new circumstances correctly understanding that the election of leading personnel in labor collectives not only does not undermine but, conversely, strengthens one-man command and increases the authority of managers, enhances their responsibility for the work and creates an atmosphere of reciprocal exigency and strictness within each collective assumes great importance. The organic combination of one-man command and the participation of collectives in decision-making on most important problems intensify and develop the principles of democratic centralism and planned management with the support of the collective.

The plenum deems expedient to approve as a base the draft USSR Law on the State Enterprise (Association), with a view to its subsequent submission to nation-wide discussion.

3. Fuller use must be made of the extensive opportunities for developing the initiative and activity of the working people and for democratizing economic management and the social sphere, granted to kolkhozes and socialist cooperatives. It is important to ensure the strict observance of the statutes of kolkhozes and other cooperative organizations and suitably amend them so that they may contribute to the further development of the activeness of members of cooperatives and increase their interest in collective work and its real results by every member of the cooperative.

It recommends to the USSR Council of Ministers and to the respective republic and local authorities to take steps for the extensive dissemination of cooperative forms of organization of public catering, consumer services and some other activities directed related to meeting requirements and consistent with the interests of the Soviet people.

4. One of the key areas in the democratization of social life and cadre policy is perfecting the Soviet electoral system. It is important to eliminate from the practice of nominating and discussing candidates for soviet deputies elements of formalism, to grant the voters the possibility of expressing their views on a larger number of candidacies and effectively to participate in the electoral process in all of its stages.

5. The plenum supports the principled view of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo on the need to broaden intraparty democracy, seek efficient ways of reviving the work of primary party organizations, conferences and plenums, and perfecting the mechanism for setting up elected party authorities on all levels for purposes of further democratization.

6. The plenum ascribes great importance to intensifying control over the activities of cadres "from above" and, particularly, "from below," and to the systematic implementation of the Leninist requirement that the work of the leading authorities remain open to all and be conducted in front of the masses. This requires regular accountability of elected and appointed officials to labor collectives and the population and granting the working people the right to assess the activities of managers and even raise the question of dismissing personnel who have failed to cope with their obligations or have compromised themselves. It is necessary to develop an efficient system for controlling the work of leading cadres with the help of

party, trade union and Komsomol conferences, sessions of soviets of peoples deputies, plenums of party, trade union and Komsomol committees, and activities of permanent commissions of the USSR Supreme Soviet and the supreme soviets of union and autonomous republics and the local soviets of people's deputies, systematically popularizing the practice of deputy queries.

It deems expedient for the CPSU Central Committee Secretariat and the USSR Council of Ministers Presidium to take steps to streamline the existing investigative and inspection practices at enterprises and organizations, so that such investigations may help the work rather than being a formality, taking large numbers of people away from their jobs.

The party organizations must steadily proceed with the certification of leading cadres, specialists and personnel of state authorities and public organizations, as an efficient method of collective control over the work of cadres and of stimulating improvements in their practical skills.

7. The plenum makes it incumbent upon all party committees and party organizations to take additional steps to increase openness and to develop criticism and self-criticism, particularly criticism from below, and to make full use of this tried weapon in educating cadres in a spirit of intolerance of shortcomings, healthy dissatisfaction with accomplishments and elimination of all violations of socialist morality standards. We must always proceed from the fact that the attitude toward criticism is an important indicator of the political maturity of cadres, their readiness to change and ability to act in the restructuring. No party member must stand above criticism or have no right to criticize. Any suppression of criticism or efforts by slanderers to defame honest people who do their work faithfully, or to settle personal grievances by means of anonymous denunciations or other unseemly methods, must be decisively uprooted.

8. Since true democracy does not exist outside or above the law, the plenum ascribes great importance to formulating and passing new legislation, upgrading the role of Soviet courts, strictly observing the principle of judicial independence, firmly increasing the prosecutor's supervision, perfecting the work of investigative authorities and of all ways and means of safeguarding the interests of the Soviet state, and guaranteeing the rights and freedoms of the citizens. The party proceeds from the fact that socialist democracy has nothing in common with total permissiveness, irresponsibility and anarchy. It is called upon truly to serve the individual, the collective and society, to develop the initiative of the working people, to bring to light the creative potential of the socialist system, and to strengthen legality, justice and the healthy moral atmosphere in our society. The legal knowledge of leading cadres and the entire population must be increased.

9. The plenum believes that concern must be shown for the systematic broadening of the social base of Soviet democracy and the more active participation of every citizen, veteran and young people, and all population strata in restructuring and in governmental and social life.

We must see to it that in all sectors young and promising workers work, acquire experience and training, and are promoted more daringly, working hand

in hand with tried cadres of to the senior generations. The party organizations must skillfully guide this natural process which they must consider a mandatory prerequisite for ensuring the continuity of leadership and of our political course and for surmounting sluggishness and stagnation. It is important for trust in young people and encouraging their autonomy in the organization of their work, training, way of life and recreation to be combined with assistance and comradely criticism of errors. The training of a reliable cadre promotion reserve must be radically improved.

The more suitable workers and kolkhoz members must be recommended for membership in party, soviet, trade union and Komsomol bodies and for assuming positions of leadership. Their training at high educational institutions and technical schools must be comprehensively encouraged; future leaders among them must be painstakingly selected and trained. We must more energetically promote to responsible positions good organizers among nonparty comrades. The plenum deems essentially important the promotion of women to leading positions on all management levels and in all areas of social activities.

10. The Central Committee Plenum draws attention to the need for a strict and systematic implementation of the stipulations of Leninist national policy in work with cadres and for a comprehensive review of the processes of intensified internationalization of the country's economic and social life. Particular sensitivity, caution, party principle-mindedness and concern for strengthening the friendship and fraternity among the peoples of our country must be displayed in anything related to the development of national relations; we must firmly eliminate negative phenomena in this area and uncompromisingly oppose any manifestations of nationalism, chauvinism, Zionism, antisemitism, parochialism, dependency, national exclusivity and boastfulness, which must be countered with systematic and consistent internationalism.

All national and ethnic groups in the country must be suitably represented in party, state and economic agencies and public organizations; the structure of leading cadres must increasingly reflect the national structure of the population. Cadre exchanges among republics and regions and between local and central authorities must be increased with a view to strengthening the internationalist training of cadres and enriching their experience in party and state work.

### III

1. The plenum approves the measures taken by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat to repair the consequences of previous violations of party principles and distortions in the exercise of cadre policy. The influx of new forces in management and the replacement of managers who were unable to deal with the new tasks or who had compromised themselves with their improper behavior have become necessary components and most important factors in restructuring.

In the light of the resolutions of the 27th Congress, the CPSU must seriously update its cadre policy, making it truly modern and inseparably related to the key areas in the struggle for socioeconomic acceleration. It must

persistently see to it that each unit engaged in party, state, economic or social work is headed by people who are loyal to the party and who are true innovators, deeply aware of the need for quality changes in our society, who are able to eliminate inertia and routine and follow the party line creatively.

On the basis of a comprehensive study of the lessons of the past, the CPSU Central Committee deems essentially important:

Based on the Leninist understanding of cadre policy, to ensure the prompt solution of crucial cadre problems on all levels, starting with the CPSU Central Committee and the government, and the steady reinforcement of leading cadres with fresh forces, to prevent any interruption or violation of the continuity of renovation.

To intensify the Marxist-Leninist theoretical training and ideological and moral hardening of cadres and to develop in them high political and moral standards and a profound understanding of the essence of the party's course of acceleration and ability closely to link in all sectors programmatic objectives with daily organizational, economic and educational work and persistently to eliminate manifestations of a technocratic approach in the activities of party committees and in cadre selection;

To ensure the attentive, thoughtful and principle-minded attitude toward cadres in their selection and replacement, guided in all cases exclusively by the interests of the work. In such cases stagnation and groundless and hasty substitution of personnel, bureaucratic administration, subjectivism and intolerance of independent thinking and initiative are inadmissible;

Steadily to increase cadre responsibility for assignments and to create a comprehensive atmosphere of reciprocal exigency, firm discipline and organization; decisively to block manifestations of slackness. Real concern for cadres has nothing in common with tolerance, forgiveness, philanthropy or wooing them;

Strictly to observe and develop the principles of democratic centralism in cadre policy and to create the necessary political and legal prerequisites for elected bodies in the party, the state, the trade unions, the Komsomol and other public organizations to be able fully to exercise their rights and efficiently to supervise the executive authorities and the work of the apparatus;

To set in the elected authorities an atmosphere of true collectivism, equality and free and principle-minded discussion of problems. Whatever status a manager may have, it does not put him above the other members of an elected authority but merely emphasizes his greater responsibility for the strictest possible observance of party standards and principles;

To take practical steps aimed at radical improvements in the activities of party, state and public supervisory authorities, increasing their influence on

strengthening discipline, eliminating all kinds of violations and abuses and improving the efficiency of the apparatus.

2. The Central Committee Plenum emphasizes that the decisive criterion in the assessment of cadres and of their political and civic stance is their attitude toward restructuring and the tasks related to the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development and the actual steps taken for their implementation. The party will promote and support personnel who not only support the course of restructuring but also who have become actively and creatively involved in the renovation process, dedicating all their efforts to the common cause and who can be successful in this. Those unable to change the situation in their sector for the better, who remain indifferent to occurring changes and cling to the old, have no right to hold a leading position.

3. The process of restructuring is inseparably related to strengthening the moral foundations of socialist society and the Soviet way of life. Under present circumstances, profound ideological convictions and greatest possible political and moral responsibility for the destinies of the country and steady observance of the Leninist bolshevik ethics are requirements of particular urgency for all cadres. They must be a model of ideological firmness, strict observance of party and state discipline, faithfulness to their word, honesty, decency, incorruptibility, modesty and intolerance of any violations of the standards of socialist morality.

We must firmly get rid of time-servers, careerists, opportunists, people who compromise the title of party member and Soviet manager for reasons of money-grubbing, acquisitions, drunkenness and moral slackness. A decisive struggle must be mounted against protectionism, nepotism, favoritism and promotions based on place of birth or loyalty to someone. The party statutes and Soviet laws must be most strictly applied toward those who try to protect swindlers, thieves and extortionists. Those who deliberately scorn our principles must be named openly and made subject to public condemnation. Concern for the pure and honest image of the manager is the prime duty of each party organization.

The plenum makes it incumbent upon party committees and primary party organizations firmly to oppose any attempts, regardless of their origin, of helping compromised managers or those who have failed in their assignment to escape responsibility. Total end must be put to still existing practices in which violations committed by leading workers are considered behind closed doors and the true reasons for relieving one responsible official or another from his position are kept secret. We must ensure the strict observance of the stipulation of the CPSU statutes according to which the party member is responsible for his actions above all to his own primary party organization. There is only one law and one discipline for all in the party and the state.

4. To intensify restructuring means, above all, to restructure the work of the party itself and its cadres on all levels, from the Central Committee to the primary party organizations, and systematically to implement on all levels the Leninist principles and standards of party life. The Central Committee considers this the essence and main task of contemporary cadre policy.

We must proceed from the fact that today the guiding and coordinating role of the party and its committees must be manifested in helping cadres in all areas to realize the tasks of the present and to be held strictly accountable for their assignments. We must firmly reject administrative functions which are extraneous to party authorities or aspirations to solve the problems of others and to substitute for soviet authorities and economic and public organizations. Particular attention must be paid to restructuring the work of party raykoms and gorkoms which are the direct link between the party and its primary units and labor collectives.

We must persistently see to it that each party committee, as an agency of political leadership, act as a true generator and promoter of new ideas and organizer of interaction among all forces, and is able properly to deploy them and to anticipate and take into consideration the consequences of decisions. The party committees must focus their attention on concern for the individual, for the conditions under which he works, lives and spends his free time, and to molding the awareness of the people. Emphasis in the style of party leadership must effectively shift to live work among the masses, the organization of the practical implementation of resolutions and plans, support of popular initiative and encouragement of innovative quests.

The primary party organizations, where party policy is implemented through the efforts of millions of party members and is linked with daily life and the accomplishments and concerns of the working people, are the main unit in the struggle for restructuring and acceleration. The organizational and ideological-political strengthening of the primary party organizations and their enhanced combat capability and activeness are the most important tasks of party raykoms, gorkoms, okrushkoms, obkoms and kraykoms and central committees of communist parties of union republics.

It is necessary to develop in the party workers a political, a statesmanlike approach to the work and the ability to work under circumstance of intensifying democracy and growing social and labor activeness of the people; they must convince the people and lead them and become intolerant of manifestations of sluggishness, bureaucratism, parochialism and departmentalism. The plenum approves the steps earmarked by the Politburo for the comprehensive restructuring of the system of party-political education and linking it most closely with reality and contemporary tasks and makes it incumbent upon the party committees to increase their practical assistance to party organizations and propaganda media and to improve the organization of the training and level of information of the primary party aktiv which works among the masses.

5. Taking into consideration the tremendous responsibility for the implementation of the party's strategic course of accelerating socioeconomic development, which is assumed by the cadres in the economic sphere, the plenum draws attention to the need to promote and train truly competent and enterprising managers of enterprises and associations, people who are able to work with others and who can, under the new conditions of economic management, ensure that the advanced lines of scientific and technical progress, radical improvements in the quality of output and high production efficiency are reached. They must be helped to master as rapidly as possible economic

management methods based on total cost accounting and self-financing, broad autonomy and increased responsibility for the results of the work of associations and enterprises and a new approach to foreign economic activities. The application of the state inspection system is a matter of major importance.

The CPSU Central Committee ascribes essential significance to the active involvement of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry, intelligentsia and all working people in restructuring, in the struggle for acceleration and for strengthening high discipline and moral purity on all levels of our society. We must proceed from the fact that under the conditions of restructuring all working people, whatever their work sector, must display high responsibility for assignments, steadily upgrade their professional skills and labor standards, master contemporary progressive equipment and technology and display initiative and creativity.

6. The plenum considers as a most important task the substantial enhancement of the quality and creative results of the intellectual and cadre potential in the national economy, the improved training and use of specialists, the restructuring of higher and secondary specialized schools, the systematic implementation of the reform of general education and vocation-technical schools and the creation of a unified system of continuing education in the country. Particular attention should be paid to faster cadre support of economic sectors developing on a priority basis and newly created production facilities, and to the training of specialists and workers in mastering the manufacturing and use of new equipment.

7. Based on the fact that the accelerated development of equipment and technology requires further increase of basic scientific ideas and applied developments and a drastic turn by science toward the needs of the national economy, the plenum deems very important to obtain higher returns from the work of cadres in academic, sectorial and VUZ science in implementing the tasks related to comprehensive production intensification and increased economic efficiency and to the intensified integration of science with production. Greater attention must be paid to the work of scientific-production associations and intersectorial scientific and technical complexes. Urgent steps must be taken to improve the training of scientific cadres and to reinforce their ranks with capable young people and to create conditions for fruitful work by scientists, to upgrading technical facilities for scientific work and to strengthening its experimental base.

8. Taking into consideration contemporary requirements, we must accelerate the restructuring of the organization, style and ways and means of work of planning, financial and other general economic agencies and all ministries and departments; their functions and tasks must be defined more accurately and they must be helped to abandon petty supervision and interference in the daily activities of associations and enterprises; their attention must be concentrated on major long-term problems of development of national economic sectors, the acceleration of scientific and technical progress, improvements in the economic mechanism, cadre retraining and skill upgrading.

9. The plenum considers as essentially important strengthening the social aspect of activities of leading cadres and developing within them an attitude toward social problems, which is a most important political matter. The ability properly to solve social problems, to create favorable conditions for highly productive work and for a suitable way of life of the people, and to promote in the collectives an atmosphere of creative searches is a mandatory criterion of the political and practical maturity of any manager.

Close attention must be paid to the activities of cadres employed in all areas directly related to meeting the daily needs of the people and to solving problems related to the vital interests of the citizens. Particularly important in this case is a good organization of the work and intolerance of rudeness, callousness and lack of attention to individuals.

10. In restructuring, the party relies on soviet, trade union and Komsomol cadres. The plenum, which approves of the steps taken by the CPSU Central Committee Politburo, USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and USSR Council of Ministers aimed at further enhancing the role and increasing the responsibility of the soviets of people's deputies for the acceleration of socioeconomic development, ascribes great importance to strengthening democratic principles in the activities of the soviets and their executive authorities and the fuller and more efficient utilization of their prerogatives. The work standards of party groups within the soviets must be raised and so must their influence on the activities of soviet authorities.

Under contemporary conditions trade union cadres must assume a more active stance in solving specific production and social problems, developing competition, strengthening labor and production discipline and educating the people. Party members working in the trade unions must see to it that authoritative and capable people, who can organize specific projects and support the interests of the working person and the collective, are appointed to trade union work.

The party organizations must provide specific daily guidance to the Komsomol organizations. They must reject admonitions and bureaucratic administration and comprehensively promote Komsomol initiative and help in structuring educational work with young people on the basis of high standards. The Komsomol must actively respond to youth problems and pioneer useful initiatives in labor, training and recreation.

11. The plenum supports the steps taken by the Central Committee Politburo to enhance the authority of the courts, the prosecution, justice and militia, state arbitration, the notary service and the thousands of volunteer participants in maintaining public order, and to upgrade the efficiency of their work. At the same time, the party's support makes it incumbent on the law enforcement authorities to struggle even more persistently for a radical reorganization of their activities in protecting the interests of the socialist society and the state and the legal rights of Soviet citizens. Major improvements must be made in work with law enforcement cadres, who must be taught how to work under the conditions of expanded democracy and openness, remembering that those who serve the cause of law and order must themselves be absolutely pure in the eyes of the law, the party and the people.

12. The plenum ascribes great importance to restructuring the work of foreign policy departments and reinforcing them with personnel who can implement the party line in international politics creatively and consistently.

13. The current difficult international situation and the aspiration of militant imperialist circles in the United States to violate military-strategic parity and to gain nuclear superiority demand the fastest possible growth of the economic potential and all-round strengthening of the defense capability of our country and maintaining the defense capability of the country and the high standards of training and combat readiness of the armed forces and constant vigilance on the necessary level. The CPSU Central Committee highly rates the activities of military cadres and Soviet army and navy personnel, who are reliably protecting the peaceful toil of the people and the safety of the homeland and are honorably fulfilling their international duty. We must continue to enhance the responsibility of commanders, political workers and the entire officer corps and the party organizations in the army and navy in maintaining the high standards of military discipline and the ideological and moral upbringing of the troops and their combat and political training; steady concern must be shown for the living conditions of military personnel and their families.

14. Responsible assignments are issued to the ideological workers, who must disseminate the party's ideas and policies among the masses, arm them with an understanding of the historical need for restructuring and help every person to find his place in the nationwide struggle for acceleration. The leading cadres, the party aktiv and all party members must engage in daily educational work. The ideological sections must be assigned to persons who have been theoretically and professionally trained, who can feel the full pulse-beat of time, who can work creatively and establish strong ties between ideological and educational work and practical restructuring activities.

The plenum notes that the implementation of the tasks facing our society and the establishment of openness and a healthy and critical atmosphere are achieved with the active support of the press, television and radio. Intolerance of negative phenomena and description of experience resulting from restructuring and encouraging conscientious and highly productive toil are the prime and interrelated tasks of mass information media. The general requirements formulated by the party toward cadres entirely apply to the press, television and radio: idea-mindedness, professionalism, sense of duty, principle-mindedness, high responsibility for the accuracy and reliability of facts submitted to public judgment and a party-type attitude toward criticism.

15. The new stage in the changes in society sets important tasks to the artistic intelligentsia, to all workers in culture. Their duty is to enrich the spiritual life of society, to contribute to the ideological and moral growth of the working person, to create talented and truthful works which reflect our reality in its entire comprehensiveness and grandeur, and firmly to oppose the ideological and cultural aggression of imperialism, which is trying to impose upon our people, the young above all, false values alien to humanism.

The central committees of communist parties of union republics, the party kraykoms and obkoms, the respective state agencies and the boards and party organizations of creative associations and cultural institutions must assist the artistic process skillfully, showing respect for talent and, at the same time, displaying party-oriented principle-mindedness; they must help to perfect the forms of democratism and social activeness in cultural construction and to develop criticism and self-criticism in creative collectives. Particular attention must be paid to upgrading the role of literary criticism and to the ideological tempering and upbringing of creative young people and to bringing to light their capabilities and talents. Incompetent interference in strictly creative processes, likes and dislikes based on taste, and substituting administrative decisions for methods of ideological influence are inadmissible in managing artistic creativity.

16. The plenum instructs the Central Committee Politburo, taking the suggestions of the Central Committee members into consideration, to take specific steps to improve the organization of cadre work in the apparatus of the CPSU Central Committee and the local party authorities and to intensify theoretical and methodological work on problems of contemporary cadre policy. The work of personnel services in ministries, departments, enterprises, establishments and organizations must be improved radically.

The CPSU Central Committee recommends to the party committees, soviet authorities, ministries, departments, the AUCCTU, the Komsomol Central Committee and the leading bodies of the other social organizations to take practical steps to improve work with cadres in the light of the stipulations of the 27th Party Congress and the present decree.

The CPSU Central Committee expresses its firm confidence that the reorganization of the economic, social and spiritual spheres of Soviet society will grow and intensify. This is guaranteed by the warm support given by the party members and the entire Soviet people to the Leninist domestic and foreign policy of the party, the initiated restructuring and the extensive growth of the patriotic movement for the successful implementation of the 12th 5-Year Plan and in honor of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution.

We must not only consolidate our achievements of the first year of the 5-year period but also advance further and include more fully in our work the long-term factors of economic growth. Tangible positive changes must be made in all areas. Rising the broadest possible toiling strata and directing their initiative and energy toward the use of the inexhaustible opportunities of socialism and toward implementing the course of renovation and acceleration is today the political mission of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

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NEW THEORETICAL AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS OF OUR TIME. MEETING OF EDITORS OF COMMUNIST AND WORKER PARTIES JOURNALS

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 87 (signed to press 2 Feb 87) pp 65-75

[Continued from KOMMUNIST Nos 1 and 2 for 1987]

[Text] Speeches

D. Tsaknyes, director of KOMMUNISTIKI EPITHEORISI ("Communist Survey"), political and theoretical organ of the CP of Greece Central Committee:

In the course of its work the party takes into consideration changes in the structure of the working class, occurring under the influence of the scientific and technical revolution. Today industrial workers account for over one-half of the hired labor. This important social change indicates that the process of proletarization of Greek society is accelerating.

The expansion and steady renovation of the working class as a result of the new detachments which are joining it faces the communists with the task of steadily increasing their ideological work. Some of the new groups joining the working class are of worker origin. A significant segment, however, come from other population strata, the peasantry above all, and from the middle urban classes. The heterogeneous origins of the new the working class members inevitably mean heterogeneity in class awareness.

Differences within the working class itself are another important source of differences in the awareness of its different detachments and, naturally, among individual workers.

Class consciousness under contemporary conditions is formed, to a certain extent, not only under the influence of a worker environment. Longer training and the impossibility of finding a job immediately after graduation and military service, combined with participation in the youth movement and extensive activities conducted by young communists among their coevals create prerequisites for the faster involvement of young people in the movement and organization of the working class.

Our party is involved in extensive political, organizational and ideological work among the workers, with a view to intensifying its political influence on

the masses. It tries to assist them in their rejection of the dominant bourgeois ideology; it is spreading the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and recruiting new fighters for its ranks.

The speaker further discussed the role of the trade unions in the struggle for the interests of the working people. Unity among leftist forces in the trade union movement, which is currently in a state of upsurge, is strengthening. Blue- and white-collar workers are rejecting the policy of rigid economy and opposing the offensive mounted against their gains. This aggravates the class struggle and opens favorable future prospects for the movement.

The main task today, of our party and the international communist movement is, in our view, the prevention of nuclear war. The peace movement in our country is most closely related to the working class and its movement. It has rallied broadly the working people, the young and the women. This movement is anti-imperialist. Its scope and mass nature are explained by the fact that it is based on the development of peace initiatives in the lower strata and on the coordinated activities among trade unions, student unions, working people's councils, women's organizations, municipalities and others. It is assisted also by the combination of the struggle for peace with that for national independence, for the removal of American military bases and nuclear weapons from our country and the withdrawal of Greece from NATO.

The consistent peace-loving policy of the USSR is having a tremendous impact on Greek political life. It is facilitating our activities by answering the most relevant questions of our time: Who is to be blamed for the arms race and who threatens peace?

J. Rodriguez, responsible secretary of ESTUDIOS ("Studies"), theoretical journal of the CP of Uruguay, and director of the CP of Uruguay Institute of Social Research.

Capitalism dooms the working people to rightlessness, hunger and poverty. The working class in Latin America, mercilessly exploited by multinational corporations, American above all, is in a particularly difficult situation. These corporations are continuing to plunder the peoples of our countries.

The attitude toward the working man is different in the socialist countries. We sincerely welcome the political and theoretical activities of the CPSU, aimed at improving the life of the people and at the struggle against that which hinders progress in Soviet society. Our people, the communists and all revolutionary forces in the world support the peaceful foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet government.

J. Rodriguez spoke extensively on the features of capitalist development in Latin America and the dialectics of revolution and counterrevolution in that continent.

Once Mexican dictator Porfirio Diaz remarked that Latin America is very far from God but very near to the United States. It is this territorial closeness that created the concept of geographic determinism which allegedly makes the rule of U.S. imperialism in Latin America inevitable. Times have changed,

however. First Cuba which, by virtue of its territorial nearness to the United States, was compared to a sardine in the jaws of a shark and, subsequently, the development of events in Nicaragua, proved that under contemporary conditions "geographic determinism" can be surmounted. The Cuban revolution changed the course of history on our continent. Revolutionary situations developed in various Latin American countries although in the majority of cases the counterrevolution prevailed.

Nevertheless, the continent became part of the accelerated economic integration of the capitalist world. This process, however, does not lead to a renovation of capitalism, as the monopoly bourgeoisie proclaims. Multinationalization only intensifies the exploitation of the toiling masses. Tremendous changes have taken place in the social structures of Latin American countries. Today the proletariat and most hired labor are the bulk of the population. State-monopoly capitalism developed in several countries, related to a greater or lesser extent to foreign capital. The uneven development of capitalism and the swelling of the ranks of the working class it creates, the rivalry among imperialist countries and the existence of the world socialist system and the nonaligned movement have all created prerequisites for a new correlation of forces between Latin American countries and imperialism, American above all. Today a process of democratization is developing on the continent and a tremendous intensification of the struggle of the popular masses is taking place in the political arena.

The Communist Party of Uruguay has reached a new stage in its struggle. Within the alliance of democratic forces, it took part in the overthrow of the dictatorship. At the present time, the speaker stressed, we have formulated a program for progressive democracy, based on the broad front. The main task now is to strengthen democracy and to establish broad democratic unity as a prerequisite for the subsequent intensification of the liberation process.

S. Isenzzee, member of the Board of the Socialist Unity Party of West Berlin and editor in chief of KONSEQUENT, theoretical journal of the SUPWB:

Like the other fraternal parties, the SUPWB focuses its policy on the struggle for the prevention of nuclear war, safeguarding peace, disarmament and detente. The dynamics given by the Soviet Union to the situation in the international arena, most clearly manifested after the Reykjavik meeting, opens new opportunities to the peace movement in the capitalist countries in truly influencing the course of events.

It is not contradictions between East and West, as imperialist propaganda claims, that are wrecking detente but the aggressive militaristic course charted by the current U.S. administration. This course must be countered with unity of action by the working class and all democratic forces. The West Berlin communists are making great efforts to prevent the threat of a new world war from ever originating on German soil. In opposing the lies disseminated by bourgeois propaganda, they explain to the working people the peace-loving foreign policy of the Soviet Union.

How must we, communists, approach debates in the peace movement, within which bourgeois, reformist, pacifistic and Marxist viewpoints clash?

The situation in the world demands fast and active efforts. The peace movement must be expanded and, despite differences in political convictions and conceptual views, lead to unified political actions. That is why a comradely dialogue is necessary even with those whose ideological views are quite different from ours. We must seek points of contact with them and create a coalition of the forces of reason and peace without, however, ignoring differences of opinion. A discussion must be conducted on ideological problems as well. KONSENT is planning to hold such an exchange of views on problems of the struggle for peace with representatives of all trends within the West Berlin antiwar movement.

The speaker then discussed in detail problems debated within the peace movement in West Berlin. How to achieve lasting peace under conditions of the arms race unleashed by imperialism and, at the same time, implement our tasks as a revolutionary vanguard? We must provide a specific answer to this, consistent with our time and with the dialectics of reform and revolution and the correlation between democratic and socialist struggle, developed most clearly in his time by V.I. Lenin.

Like all democratic movements, the peace movement cannot be fully efficient without the working class. The scope and strength of democratic alliances depend on the extent of unity and activeness of the labor movement.

In conclusion, the author called for continuing such fruitful meetings and discussions with the participation of representatives of theoretical journals of fraternal parties.

Z. Karkabi, CP of Israel Central Committee Politburo member, and editor in chief of the CP of Israel Central Committee theoretical journal AL-DARB ("The Way"):

Our party concentrates its efforts on the struggle for peace and disarmament. We emphasize in this case that U.S. imperialism is the culprit in the arms race and is preparing a nuclear war, while the USSR is the main power fighting for disarmament and for strengthening peace the world over.

The numerous initiatives and proposals formulated by the Soviet Union, aimed at ensuring peace and international security, as well as the results of the Reykjavik Soviet-American summit, clearly proved to the world public that it is precisely the Reagan administration that is responsible for the lack of specific accords in limiting the arms race and reducing international tension.

As a result of the policy of war and occupation pursued by the Israeli Zionist ruling circles, today we are far from achieving a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East. These circles, which have turned into an obedient American tool, serve the interests of imperialist reaction. They cooperate with the racist regime in South Africa and contribute to the fanning of armed conflicts in other parts of the earth. They are threatening Syria with new aggression and are trying to overthrow its anti-imperialist regime. Israel refuses to acknowledge the right of the Palestinian people to exist. It is continuing to plunder Arab lands and to promote a policy of "iron fists" in the territories under its occupation.

In his further discussion of the domestic political situation, the speaker noted that the profound socioeconomic crisis in which the country finds itself today is a crisis of Israeli state-monopoly capitalism which, on the one hand, is assuming an increasingly militaristic, aggressive and colonial nature and, on the other, becoming increasingly dependent on the American monopolies. This comprehensive crisis in Israeli society is the result of the policy of war, occupation and subservience to the United States. Every year Israel spends about 70 percent of its gross national product on military objectives and repaying foreign debts which are in excess of \$30 billion.

The ruling circles have shifted the burden of the crisis to the working people; 9.5 percent of the manpower is unemployed; real wages are being reduced, budget allocations for social needs have been curtailed to a maximum, enterprises are closing down and an increasing number of workers are being thrown out on the street.

Despite the treacherous attitude of the Histadrut, the right-wing social democratic leadership of the trade unions, the working people are striking in defense of their rights and against layoffs. Under our party's leadership the Arab Palestinian masses who live in Israel and are suffering from national oppression and racial discrimination, are struggling within the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality. This struggle is enjoying the support of the democratic forces among the Jewish population.

B. Cohen, member of the U.S. Communist Party Central Committee and editor in chief of POLITICAL AFFAIRS, the party's theoretical journal:

The problem of the struggle for peace has become central in all theoretical discussions of our time. Today new features have become clearly apparent within it.

To begin with, the development of technology revolutionized means of destruction much faster than means of production. The development of mass destruction technologies turned out incomparably easier than harnessing the forces of nature for the sake of satisfying the various needs of mankind. For the past 40 years American imperialism has given priority to perfecting the most destructive of all weapons--the nuclear. Its use would inevitably result in the destruction of the world.

A nuclear war would be entirely different from any earlier war. No country has reliable means of protecting itself from nuclear missiles. Although the Reagan administration is presenting the "Star Wars" program as a miraculous means of national defense, virtually all scientists are of the opinion that even after spending \$1 trillion, no impenetrable space "umbrella" can be created. Actually, nor is this the purpose of the "Star Wars" program. The purpose of the program is the continuation of the race launched by American imperialism for military superiority through the militarization of space.

The second new feature is the unprecedented increase in public awareness of the danger concealed within the realities of the nuclear age. This is a new growing factor in world politics. The struggle for peace demands the establishment of an exceptionally broad coalition of class forces concerned

with the problem of mankind's survival. Its purpose will be to counter the sort of "coalition of death," or the group of military-industrial corporations and the Pentagon, the politicians and scientists in their service, and whose prosperity depends on the continuing preparations for a world war. The broadening of a peace coalition is already making substantial changes in the deployment of political forces and, obviously, this trend will be manifested even more so in the future. Such a development of events puts the working class in the vanguard of the struggle for solving the most urgent and frightening problem ever encountered by mankind--the threat of self-annihilation.

The current daring peace initiatives of the Soviet state are radically changing the views of millions of ordinary Americans concerning socialism, asserting in their thoughts the decisive contribution made by the socialist countries in the struggle for the salvation of mankind from the threat of nuclear war, for which reason the "Star Wars" program is becoming increasingly less popular among the American population. The humane policy of the Soviet Union is contributing to a broadening realization by the world public that socialism is expressing the will of all nations to survive. On the other hand, the responsibility of the most militant imperialist circles in pursuing a policy rejected by the masses, based on nuclear threats and the dissemination of the arms race to ever new areas, including outer space, is becoming increasingly obvious.

The new wave of anti-Sovietism, which was started by the reactionary forces, is aimed not only against the USSR but also against the working class in the United States and its growing social role. Using all possible means, including the progressive press, we must spread the truth about socialism and the true ideals of Marxism; we must struggle against anti-Soviet propaganda on which the ideology of imperialist aggression is founded.

The speaker further discussed problems of development of the labor movement in the United States. The bourgeois ideologues claim that the new technology is leading to the disappearance of the working class. They cite as proof the relative and, in many cases, the absolute decline in the number of workers in traditional industrial production sectors and reduced trade union membership in the United States. Naturally, automation leads to a reduction in the number of some worker categories, converting unemployment from mass to chronic. However, this does not indicate in the least any overall drop in the numerical strength of the working class. The number of hired workers in the United States is increasing steadily in both absolute and relative terms. Furthermore, the strengthening of multinational corporations is leading to a new internationalization of the awareness of U.S. workers. All of this creates a base for the future counteroffensive by the working class.

#### Questions. Debates.

[A. Vorku] Comrade Cohen claimed in his statement that changes are currently noted in the awareness of the U.S. working class. He also mentioned the appearance of new leftist trends and the growth of class awareness among members of the American trade unions.

My question is the following: How accurate is it to speak today of any strengthening of leftist trends? If you recall public opinion surveys during the war in Vietnam, a great many citizens in the United States supported the U.S. imperialist aggression in that country. Something similar occurred after the Reykjavik meeting. Many Americans stated (I am referring to public opinion surveys) that it was precisely the Soviet Union that was responsible for the failure of the talks and that it was precisely the Soviet Union, in their view, that was to be blamed for the fact that the two sides had been unable to reach agreements. In the light of these factors I personally have serious doubts as to the increased level of American awareness. In this connection, I would like for Comrade Cohen to describe to us in greater detail the way in which any improvements in the country's social atmosphere are manifested. You know that my country is among those the direct victim of the hostility and aggressiveness of the administration in Washington.

[B. Cohen] In my statement I spoke mainly about the increased international awareness in the U.S. labor movement. This is confirmed by a number of examples. I believe that the information media controlled by American monopoly capital leave such news virtually unreported in the rest of the world. For example, the latest congress of the steel workers union called for uniting the efforts of all steel workers in the struggle against multinational corporations. That union's leadership is by no means leftist. It could rather be considered as extremely conservative.

A resolution was passed at that same congress condemning the "Star Wars" program. The resolution included an appeal for disarmament and for freezing nuclear arsenals. Bear in mind that the steel workers union is one of the biggest in the American trade union movement. Other national unions have also expressed themselves in favor of freezing nuclear arsenals. These unions rally the majority of organized labor in the United States. I believe that this is something new and that this approach is different from the positions held by the union movement in the past.

This is not only a question of the conscientiousness of the organized segment of the working class. In 1982, when a call was voiced on freezing nuclear arsenals, a large number of Americans, approximately 40 percent, favored holding a referendum on problems of our foreign policy. Such referendums were held in a number of states and the majority of the votes were in favor of freezing nuclear arsenals by both the United States and the Soviet Union.

There is a strong antiwar movement in the country. The majority of the U.S. population supports its objectives, directly or indirectly. The people realize that the nuclear arms race is a bad way of ensuring security.

Here are some extremely simple pertinent questions: Why is the Reagan administration financing the Contras in Nicaragua secretly? Why is it encouraging counterrevolutionary gangs in Angola also, as a rule, secretly? Why not legally? Because this conflicts with the feelings of most Americans. I would also like to discuss the state of public opinion during the war in Vietnam but the rules prevent me from discussing this in sufficient detail.

[J. Laborde] I would like to submit for discussion a question which, it seems to me, is important and is also related to the international communist movement: the correlation between the struggle for peace and the revolutionary process. In his time, Marx formulated the concept of the historical mission of the working class and scientifically proved that the working class, the moment it frees itself, will be able to free the rest of mankind. Today the framework of the historical mission of the working class has broadened: it must also struggle for the future of mankind, threatened by nuclear war.

I believe that no contradiction whatsoever exists between the struggle for the social liberation of the working class and its allies and the struggle for peace and in defense of the survival of mankind. Of late, however, materials have appeared, sometimes even in our communist press, which raise the far-fetched question of the threat to peace of the development of the revolutionary process in some parts of the world, particularly if this revolutionary movement involves the use of arms. According to such panicky authors, such a course of revolutionary events could even trigger a thermonuclear war. I do not share this view.

We, Argentine communists, have always organically linked the struggle for peace with the struggle against imperialism and against the dependence in which our peoples in Latin America, our country in particular, find themselves. We must struggle for social change and, thereby, against militarism and imperialist aggressiveness. We are convinced that a dialectical link exists between the revolutionary struggle and the struggle for social and national liberation and against imperialist slavery, on the one hand, and the struggle for peace, on the other. In both cases we are fighting the same enemy--imperialism--the source of the threat of war.

The Argentine communists believe that they must not only struggle against capitalism and imperialism in their own country but also make their steady contribution to the struggle waged by our brothers in Latin America, for unless the struggle waged by all of our nations broadens, imperialism could concentrate its efforts on enslaving one specific country or another. This is exemplified by the aggression against Cuba, the U.S. intervention in Grenada and the threat of U.S. aggression against Nicaragua. It seems to me, therefore, that those who claim that the struggle for peace could somehow adversely affect the struggle for revolutionary renovation, and vice versa, are wrong. We must always seek and find a dialectical connection between the two forms in order to struggle against the common enemy, which is imperialism.

[P. Staigerwald] Allow me to express some ideas on the question raised by Comrade Laborde. I cannot imagine how a way to socialism could open in the FRG without successes in the struggle for disarmament. I cannot imagine how a disarmament is possible in the FRG if steps are not taken for disarmament on an international scale. I perfectly understand what great help it would be to the liberation struggle of the peoples in African, Asian and Latin American countries should the forces of peace and reason force imperialism to take specific steps to end the arms race and in favor of disarmament. I believe that the interconnection between the struggle for peace and disarmament and the struggle for social progress is entirely obvious here.

[J. Rodriguez] I fully support Comrade Laborde's view. I myself have read the articles he mentioned. Their leitmotif is the following: let us be more cautious with the revolutionary movement and with the hotbeds of social confrontation; everything possible must be done and we must compromise in order to lower their intensiveness, for they could cause difficulties in the struggle for peace and against the threat of nuclear war. I consider such views antialectical and harmful.

#### Speeches

I. Frolov, CPSU Central Committee member and editor in chief of KOMMUNIST, theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee:

Our party considers the enhancement of the theoretical front its most important task, an inseparable component of the strategy of the 27th CPSU Congress and an immediate and objective social requirement. Our party's Central Committee has assigned the journal KOMMUNIST an essential role in the implementation of this program. The Central Committee decree "On the Journal KOMMUNIST" describes its role under the new historical circumstances as a rostrum for developing social thoughts, summation of the social experience of the masses and leading in the theoretical interpretation of the new problems created with the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development.

The main thing for us is to have a creative approach to the work in the spirit of the new way of thinking which is being established in all areas of life in the country and in the international arena. The systematic implementation of a class approach in assessing social phenomena, alien to any kind of vulgarization, does not exclude but presumes the strengthening of the universal humanistic orientation of scientific research and consideration of dialectical interconnections and basic interests of the working class with the general democratic ideals and values of mankind. To assert a new style of thinking means to implement a restructuring, revolutionary in its nature, and to abandon normativistic-doctrinarian attitudes toward life and practical experience, customary yet obsolete mental stereotypes and the hypnosis of past experience.

Today the party and society vitally need studies of the various alternatives in solving problems, without excluding different substantiated forecasts and reliable recommendations. No real increase in knowledge is therefore possible outside of scientific discussions and the open comparison and competition of ideas in various research areas.

The most important part of the journal, as we understand it, is to interpret topical problems of economic theory, politics, dialectics of production forces and production relations, planned centralized management of the national economy and enterprise independence, commodity-monetary relations and cost accounting. The speaker further discussed the specific work plans of the journal on other contemporary theoretical problems (described in the editorial in KOMMUNIST No 14 for 1986).

The creative development of Marxist-Leninist theory today, he went on to say, is inconceivable without the study and summation of achievements and problems

of world socialism. The journal is concentrating on the major changes taking place in the socialist countries at this crucial historical stage.

Attention will also be focused on the problems of contemporary global developments and their trends and contradictions. The sharp turn taken in the country's life and in the entire planet, the threat of nuclear annihilation hanging over mankind, the aggravation of contradictions within scientific and technical progress and in global problems ascribe unparalleled gravity to the ideological struggle on basic conceptual problems, making relevant the task of promoting the humanistic conceptual orientation of the people under the contemporary dynamic, varied and conflicting yet interrelated, interdependent and largely integral world.

The CPSU Central Committee decree "On the Journal KOMMUNIST" formulated the strategic task of raising the work of the journal to a qualitatively new standard on a firm and long-term basis. The editors are doing everything possible to achieve this and are relying on the comradely cooperation of the editors of communist party journals throughout the world and on international unity in the creative interpretation of the new theoretical and political problems of our time.

L. Zahavi, CP of Israel Central Committee member and representative of ARAHIM ("Values"), a theoretical journal:

In the world ruled by capitalism, anti-Sovietism has become the main tool used by the reaction in the struggle against peace and disarmament, against real socialism, the working class and the other democratic forces. The struggle against anti-Sovietism is an important component of the common struggle waged by progressive revolutionary forces.

Anti-Sovietism is used as an instrument to conceal our government failures in domestic and foreign policy. It is used to distract the attention of the working people away from their daily difficulties and grave problems. When the Israeli government suggests that the question "on the situation of our brothers and sisters in the Soviet Union" be discussed in the Knesset, this is a perfectly clear indication that the political or socioeconomic situation in Israel itself is approaching a critical point.

Anti-Sovietism justifies the strictly pro-imperialist orientation of the Israeli government. Making use of our country's economic and political dependence, the U.S. administration is dictating to Israel not only how it should act toward the Arab countries and nations but also the specific steps it must take in the economic area. This applies, above all, to lowering the wages of workers and taking steps which worsen the living conditions of the working people.

Anti-Sovietism is the foundation on which the strategic alliance concluded between the United States and Israel rests. It is addressed against the Arab peoples and it would be a grave error to believe that it is limited exclusively to the Middle East. The Israeli rulers are enraged by the Soviet Middle Eastern policy, which is blocking the aggressive and expansionistic course of Israel which refuses to acknowledge the legitimate national rights

of the Palestinian people and is trying to perpetuate the occupation of territory seized from neighboring countries. The purpose of current statements according to which the USSR threatens Israeli security is merely to conceal the fact of the real threat of Israeli aggression against Syria.

There are groups and individuals in the country who support the general democratic requirements and favor nuclear disarmament and a just solution of the Palestinian problem. However, their prejudice against real socialism blinds and prevents them from taking the side of progressive forces.

Israeli official anti-Sovietism reflects Zionist hatred of the theory of scientific socialism and real socialism. The founders of Zionism themselves emphasized that its ideology and politics will contribute to the weakening of the revolutionary struggle. The Great October Revolution was perceived by the Zionist leaders as a blow to their cause. The enhancement of official anti-Sovietism in Israel is closely related to the crisis in Zionist ideology. This is a kind of reaction on the part of the Zionist leadership to the double defeat of its main ideological postulate according to which anti-Semitism and the persecution of Jews can be ended not with social progress but only by gathering the Jewish population in Israel. The course of historical progress proved that the Soviet Union successfully solved the national problem, including the situation of citizens of Jewish nationality. Meanwhile, the national problem remains unsolved in Israel and in other capitalist countries. Even in Zionist circles there is virtual agreement to the effect that Israel was unable to solve the Jewish problem. There are not all that many places in the world where life is so insecure and where people live in a condition of such a constant stress as in Israel. That is why the Israeli ruling circles and Zionist leaders are making such strenuous efforts to draw attention on anti-Soviet campaigns and on the dissemination of fabrications about the so-called Jewish problem in the USSR, and that is why the people of Israel are being systematically poisoned by anti-Sovietism.

K. Florea, deputy editor in chief of ERA SOCIALISTE, the theoretical and sociopolitical journal of the Romanian Communist Party Central Committee:

We are convinced that the elaboration and development of revolutionary theory must proceed from tried practical experience. We must take into consideration the specific experience of each nation and anything new in human knowledge as well as the realities of the age. The experience in building socialism in Romania and other countries indicates that social activities turn into conscious efforts only through the innovative use of the theory of scientific socialism and the dialectical-materialistic outlook.

As a social system, socialism is still quite young. However, it has already achieved great successes although difficulties and errors stood on the difficult path of its building. Nonetheless, despite shortcomings, socialism was able to solve within a short time problems the solution of which would have required entire centuries under different social systems. Life is confirming with increasing clarity the advantages of the principles of socialism, their great transforming power and the ability of the new system to ensure the faster progress of mankind, true equality and justice, true independence and sovereignty, and the well-being and happiness of man.

The speaker then proceeded to describe in detail the tasks of building socialism in Romania, as formulated at the 13th RCP Congress. The most important of them is converting from extensive to intensive development in industry, agriculture and other economic sectors, and attaining a new quality of work and life of the entire people. Acting in a spirit of understanding the dialectics of production forces and production relations, the Romanian Communist Party is showing constant concern for further improvements in socialist social relations and the organization of society and all social life. The successful building of socialism calls for intensified political and educational work in upgrading the revolutionary consciousness of the working people and shaping the new man. The RCP bases all such activities on a revolutionary outlook, scientific socialism, dialectical and historical materialism, the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin, and the party's documents. All of this is reflected in its journal.

The RCP proceeds from the fact that the building of a new system can be successfully promoted only under conditions of peace and extensive international cooperation. The speaker noted that Romania ascribes particular importance to expanding and intensifying relations of friendship, cooperation and solidarity with the Soviet Union, the other neighboring socialist countries and all socialist states. At the same time, it is steadily strengthening relations of friendship and cooperation with the developing and nonaligned countries and broadening ties with the developed capitalist and all countries in the world regardless of their social system.

A new situation has appeared in the world as a result of the development and perfecting of new types of weapons, nuclear in particular, which, if used, could destroy life itself on our planet. We emphasize in articles on this subject that Romania highly values the suggestions formulated by M.S. Gorbachev in Reykjavik. We point out that the Soviet proposals prove a new approach to the problem of nuclear disarmament and to the policy of peace and that they provide opportunities for success in the struggle for disarmament. The proposals formulated by the Warsaw Pact members in Budapest are also particularly important.

A. Larsen, member of the Communist Party of Canada Central Executive Committee and editor in chief of COMMUNIST VIEWPOINT, theoretical and political journal of the Canadian Communist Party:

The main problem of our time is that of preventing nuclear war and promoting disarmament. The broad Soviet peace proposals did not meet with support in the United States which is unwilling to abandon its SDI program. More than ever before, today we need cooperation and interaction among all communist and worker parties in opposing U.S. imperialism. It would be useful, in the course of such regular meetings, to hear the views of representatives of other leftist and democratic forces.

The problems of war and peace are organically related to those of capital internationalization. The multinational corporations (MC) and international financial capitalism, including its most dangerous nucleus--the U.S. military-industrial complex--are the most dangerous enemies of the working class and all mankind. The internationalization of capital, the growth of the MC and

their increasing expansion are used in blackmailing and threatening not only the workers in all nonsocialist countries. Their cosmopolitan and predatory activities are increasingly clashing with the national interests of entire countries, including developed capitalist ones. The struggle for peace and in defense of the basic interest of the working class demands international cohesion and strengthening of national sovereignty. Therefore, in our time the problem of sovereignty and independence assumes a clear anti-imperialist and class-oriented content. This applies to developing and developed countries, including Canada.

The Canadian communists have gained substantial experience in the struggle in defense of sovereignty and independence from the United States. The positions of foreign capital in the Canadian economy are stronger than in any other developed country. Eighty percent of Canadian exports go to the United States. American economic domination is supplemented by U.S. political and cultural expansion.

The growing contradictions with the United States are also reflected in contradictions within the Canadian monopoly bourgeoisie which consists of two groups, one of which tries to broaden its partnership with U.S. imperialism, while the other tries to oppose it. It is by no means a matter of indifference to the working class which of the two will prevail. This is explained by the fact that the group which favors closer integration with American imperialism also usually holds positions which are more to the right in domestic and foreign policy. However, the greatest economic, social and political gains of the working people are possible only in an atmosphere of detente and peaceful coexistence. Conversely, they are hindered under the conditions of a "cold war," arms race and militant anti-Sovietism and anticomunism. The working class must make use to its own advantage of contradictions between the monopoly groups, although in their opposition to American imperialism the monopolies are guided by reasons entirely different from those of the working people.

That is precisely why our party has concluded that today the strategic struggle must be aimed above all against U.S. imperialism--the dominating force which threatens the peace--and those Canadian monopoly groups and their political representatives whose interests are oriented toward American imperialism, i.e., the neoconservatives.

The speaker further discussed problems of the antiwar movement in the country, to which the Communist Party of Canada ascribes particular importance, and the inclusion within its ranks of the trade unions, the young and all progressive forces. It is axiomatic that today the security of Canada is impossible without the security of all countries in the world.

Hundreds of new organizations have appeared throughout the country. The bold Soviet disarmament initiatives played an important role in the development of antiwar actions. This has changed the attitude toward the Soviet Union and an increasing number of people are beginning to realize that U.S. imperialism is a source of military danger.

E.M.Sh. Nambudiripad, secretary general, Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (M) (representing MARXIST, the party's theoretical journal):

We fully support the conclusions of the 27th CPSU Congress, which emphasized the special significance of the struggle for peace under contemporary conditions. This struggle is important to the world as a whole and to our country in particular. Imperialism, American imperialism above all, is pushing mankind to the brink of nuclear war. At the same time, it is threatening India's national independence and unity. This threat is manifested in the presence of the U.S. navy in the Indian Ocean, a navy armed with nuclear weapons, and the financing by imperialism of India's enemies in neighboring countries. Within the country imperialism is supporting forces which are trying to destabilize India and to create within it a state of chaos and to organize clashes among ethnic communities. Acts of violence are taking place in India on a virtually daily basis and separatist forces are active. The country is facing its most serious threat since independence.

India highly rated the peace initiatives formulated by M.S. Gorbachev. The Indian people share them fully, for they are aimed at ensuring peace and security in the Asian-Pacific area and at saving mankind from nuclear destruction.

Every year, by the fault of imperialism, billions of dollars are being spent on armaments although such money is needed to feed, to give blood to millions of people, including those in India. That is why M.S. Gorbachev's initiatives are meeting with the broad support of all people of goodwill: disarmament, combined with confidence in the future, improves the living standard of the people wherever they may live.

We highly value the program formulated by the USSR of accelerating the pace of socialist production on the basis of the development of science and technology. Under the circumstances of an unprecedented crisis, which has affected the development of the capitalist countries, this program indicates with particular clarity the advantages of socialism. Any modernization of production under capitalist conditions leads to the loss of jobs for millions of people. Under socialism technological improvements lead to improvements in the working and living conditions of the broad popular masses. The increased economic power of the socialist system is a guarantee that peace throughout the world can be safeguarded and that the war to which the imperialists are pushing mankind can be prevented.

We unconditionally support the development of cooperation between the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, on the one hand, and the developing countries, on the other. The New Delhi declaration, concluded by the Indian prime minister and the CPSU Central Committee general secretary, and other documents of the recent state visit by the highest Soviet leader to our country, are of historical importance.

The speaker then discussed some aspects of activities of the Indian Communist Party (M) and Indian democratic forces, indicating the need to strengthen the unity of action of the fighters against local and imperialist reaction nationally and internationally.

A process of convergence is taking place in the world communist movement, leading to reciprocal understanding and cooperation. The struggle for peace the world over and in defense of socialism has its own logic and calls for surmounting anything which could divide us. The best teacher is life and practical experience. The organizers of this meeting deserve particular praise for offering communists the opportunity to share views and experience.

S. Tsukasov, responsible secretary of PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM, theoretical and information journal of communist and worker parties:

Our joint working meeting is consistent with the greater need for a collective summation of Marxist-Leninist theory. The international nature of our doctrine and movement demands the further strengthening of ideological and theoretical unity despite all of its various manifestation.

Today, at a crucial point in history, it is particularly important to intensify cooperation among fraternal parties and their printed organs. This is based, above all, on the qualitatively new stage in perfecting real socialism; second, the increased opportunities on the scientific communist front where, for the time being, there is a certain lagging behind practical experience in ideological and theoretical developments; third, the enhancement of the activities of the class enemy, uniting on an international level his ideological and propaganda efforts under the banner of militant anticommunism.

The speaker further described the work of PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM and its tasks. Seventy communist and worker parties find an expression of the international features of our movement through this collective publication, which is the heart of the movement and which gives new impetus to its motive forces. The editorial council tries to present more extensively the views, opinions and experience of all fraternal parties and all socialist countries and revolutionary forces and all detachments of the labor movement, thus interpreting both positive and negative experience and contributing to strengthening unity within the movement and implementing Lenin's stipulation that revolutionary theory stems from the revolutionary practice of all countries in the world.

Of late the journal has published articles on topical problems, such as the struggle against the nuclear threat, for disarmament and for strengthening universal security; the dialectics of the struggle for peace and national and social liberation and for democratic change and social progress.

The achievements and problems of real socialism, specifically the ways of improving the socialist community and the correlation between practical experience and the ideal of socialism, demand a more complete interpretation.

The topics of particular interest to the communists in the nonsocialist world include the interaction between communist and worker parties, the theoretical substantiation of priorities in the socialist way of life, based on real experience, combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism, perfecting the mechanisms of integration and dynamic growth of the socioeconomic potential, including the

human factor in renovation processes, progress in socialist democracy and self-government, and others.

In addition to the dissemination of materials on topical problems of our time, the journal pays great attention to holding, together with the fraternal parties, conferences, seminars and roundtable meetings. A great deal could be accomplished on the theoretical front as a result of the reciprocal permanent cooperation among the theoretical and political journals of communist and worker parties, their scientific forces and centers. This would include the exchange of plans for basic publications, discussions, preparations for holding joint debates and simultaneous publication of most important articles.

More extensive cooperation, the speaker concluded, is consistent with the requirements of the time and the interests of the further collective development of the theory of Marx, Engels and Lenin.

#### Questions. Debates

[F. Kerim] In connection with Comrade I. Frolov's statement I would like to discuss some problems of our practical cooperation. Our Soviet colleague spoke of the restructuring in KOMMUNIST, the new forms of work and long-term plans of the theoretical and political journal of the CPSU Central Committee. To us, communists in the Arab countries, exchanging experience with the CPSU, when a revolutionary restructuring of all areas of social life is taking place under its leadership, is of exceptional importance. For that reason we must seek the possibility for and, albeit partially, publish selections of the best articles in KOMMUNIST in the Arab language, as is already being done in the English, French, Spanish and German languages. Today there are more than 100 million Arabs in the world. They are a huge and receptive audience.

Another problem to which we should pay most serious attention is the following: our work meeting made it possible to experience the interesting search which is taking place today by theoretical social scientists in the socialist countries and the great deal of interesting publications in their journals. However, because of linguistic difficulties, all of this remains outside national boundaries and does not become accessible to the foreign public. In this respect our ideological opponent is more efficient than we are. The socialist countries have a number of national publishing centers. It seems to me, however, that there should be a general publication which would help us to increase our knowledge of the socialist community. By this I mean a joint publication of all fraternal parties in the socialist countries organized by a joint publishing center. Such a journal would include selected articles and materials taken from all theoretical journals. I do not know whether such a journal should be a quarterly or semiannual publication or any other; however, it is needed today and the role which such a journal could play would be quite important. I believe that the publishing centers in the socialist countries could also produce annual annotated catalogues of the most important articles found in the journals of our communist movement. Perhaps PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM could undertake such an important project in organizing reciprocal information on publications.

[J. Rodriguez] I fully support the initiative formulated by our Arab comrade. The lack of such a journal and of an annotated catalogue is unquestionably being felt. We would very much like for KOMMUNIST to be published in four or five basic languages in the world. We have partially undertaken such work ourselves. Materials from KOMMUNIST, which include the best articles selected from the journal's latest issues, were translated into Spanish and their abridged version has been prepared for publication.

#### Speeches

M. Faruki, secretary of the Communist Party of India National Council, and editor in chief of PARTY LIFE, theoretical journal of the CP of India:

This historical 27th CPSU Congress and the congresses of the ruling parties of the other socialist countries, which were held recently, provided a profound analysis of the present situation in the world. The congress of the Soviet Communist Party brought to light contradictions which exist in the space age, the age of nuclear energy. The scientific and technical revolution highlighted new aspects of the tasks facing the communists. The initiatives of the Soviet Union and of all socialist countries, the declaration of the Political Consultative Committee of Warsaw Pact members, the powerful upsurge of the peace movement in developed capitalist countries and the aspirations of the peoples of developing countries, reflected in the declaration of the New Delhi Six and in the final documents of the conference of heads of states and governments of nonaligned countries in rare, are all confirmations of the appearance of a new coalition of peace forces. This is a broader and more profound coalition compared with the antifascist movement which appeared after fascism came to power in Europe and the forces of militarism in Japan, half a century ago. In India as well there is a growing understanding by the masses that preserving the peace is the main condition for the country's development. The class which heads the historical struggle for the survival of mankind and for saving it from nuclear catastrophe will also assume social hegemony.

Not only in the USSR and India but also throughout the world the results of M.S. Gorbachev's visit to our country, which gave enhanced our cooperation and contributed to strengthening security in the Asian-Pacific area, were highly rated.

In order to achieve their hegemonic and neocolonialist objectives, the Reagan administration and NATO's imperialist U.S. allies formulated the concept of "neoglobalism." They conclude strategic agreements with reactionary regimes, interfere in the domestic affairs of developing countries and put their puppets in power. Those in the Third World who refuse to follow the fairway of imperialist policy and who are pursuing an independent economic course are "punished:" they become victims of military pressure, economic sabotage and political destabilization. The doctrine, the beginning of which was laid with the slogan of "throwing communism back" calls for dealing with the national liberation movement as well. That is what "neoglobalism" means. India refuses to be a link in the chain of interlinked military pacts which U.S. imperialism is trying to hammer out. It tries to strengthen its economic independence. Growing friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and participation in the nonaligned movement are helping our people

to withstand in its confrontation with imperialism. It is for that precise reason that India became the object of imperialist pressure and blackmail. The imperialists are using the situation in neighboring Pakistan, which is favorable to them, for the purpose of actively interfering in its internal affairs. The extensive military cooperation between imperialism and Pakistan threatens the security of India and of our entire area. Another threat is that of U.S. military activities in the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf.

At the same time, the United States is trying to manipulate our economy with the help of technological imperialism and the foreign debt and to make us leave the path of independent development, while imperialism is supporting the forces of social and political destabilization and using religious, linguistic and other ethnic and social differences in the country with a view to subverting its unity.

The speaker went on to discuss in detail the tasks facing the Indian communists. The Communist Party of India is trying to rally all patriotic and anti-imperialist forces in the country in the struggle against the neocolonialist onslaught of imperialism and its efforts to undermine the state economic sectors, in defense of the vital interests of the toiling masses and for radical socioeconomic change. In our propaganda work we particularly emphasize the struggle against the neoglobalist policy of the Reagan administration in the Asian-Pacific area.

This first and so highly representative forum of party journalists held in Moscow is of great importance in testing our theoretical and strategic positions under circumstances of growing contradictions in today's world. (Concluded in the next issue).

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## THE WORLD PEACE MOVEMENT

Moscow KOMMUNIST in Russian No 3, Feb 87 (signed to press 2 Feb 87) pp 76-84

[Text] Today the peoples of the world have a common enemy, the threat of nuclear war, which could result in a global catastrophe, and a main task: to eliminate this threat. This is the problem at the present level of development of civilization, the global community of nations and international relations. Under circumstances in which life calls for a radical elimination of many customary approaches to foreign policy, age-old traditions of political thinking and obsolete views on problems of war and peace, a process of increasing awareness by the world public of the realities of the nuclear space age is taking place on the planet. An understanding of the need for a lasting nuclear-free peace and guaranteed conditions for the survival of mankind is powerfully making its way in the collective reasoning of mankind. The recent past offers convincing proof that the struggle for the triumph of the new way of thinking and for ensuring the comprehensive security of the nations on an equal footing has shifted to a qualitatively new practical level. The manner in which the peoples throughout the world and members of different political and social circles on all continents noted the anniversary of the publication of the 15 January 1986 declaration by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, which included a plan for gradual nuclear disarmament, clearly confirmed the growing support for the Soviet program by a tremendous coalition of forces for peace, reason and goodwill, different in terms of sociopolitical structure but sharing the same aspiration. Its ranks include the largest peace and environmental international and national organizations, members of communist, worker, revolutionary-democratic and many other socialist and social democratic parties, trade unions, women's, youth and cultural organizations, associations of scientists, physicians, men of culture and the arts and members of different political circles religious movements and the business world.

Those who welcomed the historical Soviet initiative of 15 January 1986, an initiative of unparalleled scope, noted with particular satisfaction that the principled line followed by the USSR in the implementation of specific steps which would contribute to fulfilling the formulated program for building a nuclear-free world and, above all, steps such as the repeated extension of our unilateral moratorium on all nuclear explosions and the Reykjavik agreement reached with the American side on nuclear disarmament, and the fact that this line had taken the struggle currently waged by peace-loving forces on earth to

a higher level. Life faced not only the participants in the Reykjavik talks but all peace-loving forces with the important task of helping to protect the historical levels on the path to a nuclear-free world attained at the Soviet-American summit and to prevent the erosion of the specific guidelines for nuclear disarmament which were earmarked at the meeting. The world public approves the resolve shown by the Soviet Union to continue its struggle for progress on the basis of the positions defined at the Icelandic capital.

Nonetheless, the last few months have confirmed the great strength of stereotypes of the old and conservative way of thinking of the ruling Western circles and the great distance separating the policy followed by the U.S. government and some other countries from the true expectations of the nations. The new regrouping of NATO forces, registered on the political seismographs, whose purpose is to hinder the process initiated at the Soviet-American meeting in Iceland and to prevent the implementation of the basic agreement to which the Soviet Union and the United States came closer in Iceland is the latest confirmation of the fact that a lasting peace and universal security can be achieved only as a result of a stubborn struggle against anything which blocks the implementation of radical steps to reduce and eliminate nuclear weapons, which are creating the threat of a catastrophe. Washington's demonstrated unwillingness to reach as soon as possible an agreement on imposing a total and definitive ban on nuclear weapon tests leads to a similar conclusion.

The progressive world public accepted with understandable regret but also with understanding the forced decision concerning an additional extension of the Soviet unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests only until the next U.S. test in 1987. The broad social circles can only approve the intention expressed by the USSR to leave the door open and its readiness to resume the moratorium any day or month should the American leadership revise its own attitude toward the problem.

The contradictions which characterize the present international situation contain nothing accidental or extraordinary. Throughout the entire postwar period, along with the intensification of international tension and the ever-increasing arms race, nuclear above all, unleashed by the reactionary imperialist circles, which hoped to revise in their favor the results of World War II, the antiwar movement gathered strength, acquiring increasing substance as an independent factor in international relations. As was noted at the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, "No single nation wants war. This fact contains tremendous possibilities and reserves for the implementation of a policy of peace and progress."

The experience acquired by the peace movement and the major changes which took place in the social consciousness of many social strata in the West and in the developing countries led to a growing understanding of the reasons and nature of wars under present circumstances. Step by step, a realization was reached of the terrible consequences of the arms race with the stockpiling of huge amounts of mass destruction weapons and the danger of nuclear war threatening all mankind. Not simply an active interest but an increasing involvement by the public in international events and the desire to influence their development in a direction consistent with the basic needs of the people were

factors which are increasingly defining today the position held by the broad social circles on problems of war and peace. It is thus that in terms of the gravest problem of our time--preventing total annihilation caused by a nuclear conflagration--that V.I. Lenin's prediction to the effect that "as human historical creativity expands and intensifies, the mass of the population which is a conscious maker of history should increase to the same extent" becomes reality ("Poln. Sobr. Soch" [Complete Collected Work], vol 2, pp 539-540).

The social efforts of scientists, physicians, literary workers and masters of culture play a special role in enhancing mass democratic movements. As early as the beginning of the 1960s, F. Joliot-Curie expressed the thought that the men of science must become the pioneers of the new great army of peace, for it is they who, better than anyone else, realize the meaning of a modern war. Actually, directly or indirectly, many scientists have participated and are participating in the development of the latest models of armaments. They are the ones who can judge most competently of the trends followed in the development of such mass destruction weapons and the tragic results of their application. Forty years ago the best world scientists were able to see behind the explosions of atom bombs in Hiroshima and Nagasaki a warning of a possible catastrophe. The famous Russell-Einstein Manifesto came out in 1955, appealing to the scientists to hold a conference to "assess the danger which has become apparent as a result of the development of mass destruction weapons." In particular, the manifesto stipulated that "we must learn to think in a new way. We must learn to ask ourselves not what steps to take to achieve a military victory by the camp to which we belong, for such steps no longer exist; we must ask ourselves something else: what steps could be taken to prevent an armed struggle, the outcome of which would be catastrophic to all participants."

The relevance of this statement has greatly increased over the past decades; the nuclear age is inevitably dictating a new style of political thinking. This was brilliantly predicted by V.I. Lenin. In the "prenuclear" 1918, as N.K. Krupskaya recalls, he cautioned: "Modern technology today is increasingly assisting the destructive nature of wars. The time will come, however, when war will become so destructive that, in general, it will become impossible" (N.K. Krupskaya, "O Lenine" [On Lenin], Moscow, 1979, p 54). This time has come. However, the changes which are taking place in the world are being realized quite differently by the representatives of different classes and social groups. By virtue of their profession, earlier than others, scientists were able profoundly to interpret the harsh realities of the nuclear-space age.

Representatives of 24 different countries, including Soviet scientists, responded to the appeal of B. Russell, A. Einstein, F. Joliot-Curie and other authors of the manifesto. They gathered in London in 1955 for their famous conference on "Nuclear War and the Scientist." The next conference was held 2 years later in the Canadian fishing village which gave the name of Pugwash to the movement of scientists in the struggle for peace. Ever since then, Pugwash conferences of top modern scientists are held every year.

Is the broad Western public familiar with the conclusions reached at such conferences? It would be hard to answer this question in the affirmative for, as Lenin noted, in capitalist society "deceiving the people's masses has been developed artistically in foreign policy 'affairs'..." (op. cit., vol 32, p 335). For decades the bourgeois mass information media has cultivated the image of the enemy of Western civilization, inflating the myth of the "Soviet threat." The latest confirmation of this is the ugly television series "Amerika," made in the United States, describing the story of the "occupation" by the Soviet Union of the United States. Its makers even attacked the United Nations, under whose banner the occupation powers in the film were committing their excesses. The defenders of militarism are endlessly babbling about nuclear restraint and the need for a balance in armaments without mentioning the fact that the tremendous arsenal of nuclear weapons which has already been stockpiled, and considering the current pace of the arms race, the stabilizing influence of the nuclear balance disappears and the danger of disturbing the shaky balance of "power" increases catastrophically. All of us remember the noisy glorification of the neutron weapon, when it was seriously proclaimed that it was the most "humane" way of waging war. It was asserted that nuclear war is simply a variety of conventional armed conflicts from which mankind has emerged even "healthier." The bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki was justified by claiming that the threat of the effect of radiation as a result of nuclear strikes was exaggerated. Unfortunately, some scientists participated in these campaigns. It was not the conclusions of the Pugwash conferences but the views of these scientists that were adopted by the bourgeois mass information media. Thus, the American physicist E. Teller, who holds the doubtful title of "father of the hydrogen bomb," even wrote that there is nothing terrible about a radioactive fallout. All that it takes was to wash it off "somewhat thoroughly." He failed to mention in his article that after a nuclear explosion, in an atmosphere of terrible destructions and total radioactive contamination, the people will be simply unable to "wash themselves off."

Currently the full force of the propaganda machine of militarism is concentrated on advertising "star wars," Reagan's so-called "Strategic Defense Initiative," which, allegedly, makes an immediate halt to nuclear tests impossible. These sinister seeds are providing shoots in the minds not only of the broad population strata but also the intelligentsia and the scientists. The new way of thinking, which is steadily promoted by responsible world scientists and people of different outlooks and, let us point out, different political views, is difficult to understand by the Western ruling circles.

However, the movement of scientists for peace and against the nuclear threat gathered strength, expanded and gained an impressive scale. The beginning of the 1980s was marked by powerful actions mounted by this movement, such as the Warsaw Declaration, which was signed by 111 winners of the Nobel Prize for Science. The greatest scientists on earth categorically condemned the idea of limited nuclear war and demanded an end to the arms race. Only 7 of all Nobel Prize winners in the natural sciences, who were still alive in 1982, expressed their disagreement. That same year a representative forum took place in Rome with the participation of 36 academies of sciences and scientific societies from different countries. A declaration was adopted reflecting the view of the majority of the world's scientific public. Its conclusion was the following: nuclear devices must not be considered weapons which can be used

in a military conflict, for the results of their effect are uncontrollable and monstrous. Science is unable to offer to the world proper protection from the consequences of nuclear war and all differences among people today--political, economic, ideological and religious--are insignificant compared to the threat of a nuclear suicide.

A Committee of Soviet Scientists for the Defense of Peace and Against the Nuclear Threat was founded in the Soviet Union in May 1983. Its first all-union conference was held with the participation of scientists, public personalities, journalists from many countries in Europe, Asia and America, and members of international scientific organizations. The reports and speeches delivered at the conference contained a scientific analysis of the biological, ecological, economic and other consequences of the threatening thermonuclear conflict and the ever-intensifying global arms race. The profound reasons for the growth of international tension in the contemporary world were identified and basic suggestions were discussed, aimed at reducing it, taking possible measures for the prevention of nuclear war and reaching agreements on disarmament and peace. The appeal to all scientists in the world, adopted at the conference, said, among others: "The forces of peace are more powerful than the forces of war. If all of them were activated, they could erect an insurmountable obstacle on the path of aggressive forces and ensure lasting peace for the nations."

The problem, the solution of which will determine the fate of human civilization, is to activate the entire potential for peace and teach a new way of thinking to the broadest possible popular masses on earth.

The international medical public joined in this project most actively. The international movement of Physicians of the World for the Prevention of Nuclear War" is only 6 years old but it already rallies physicians from 49 countries. This professional and totally apolitical movement of physicians contains a tremendous potential for developing in the broadest possible public circles elements of the new way of thinking. The high reputation of the members of this most humane profession, to which people unconditionally entrust their health and, frequently, their lives, contributes to the extensive spreading of the conclusions of contemporary science concerning the absolute inadmissibility of a thermonuclear conflict. "... the conclusion that medicine will be helpless to assist the victims of such a war, the catastrophic consequences of which will be totally uncontrollable has had a sobering influence on a number of governmental leaders and politicians who are rattling nuclear weapons," confirmed Academician Ye.I. Chazov, the Soviet co-chairman of the movement. It was no accident that the 1985 Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to the movement for its significant contribution to objectively informing the public about many aspects of the nuclear threat.

Another new peace movement is taking shape and becoming increasingly popular: that of ecologists, with the participation of many scientists and public figures from England, Bulgaria, the GDR, India, the USSR, the United States, France, the FRG and other countries. This movement appeared on the basis of the standing international conference known as the "Ecoforum," organized by the Bulgarian journal OKHRANA NA PRIRODATA. What motivated the ecologists to join efforts in the struggle for peace? A "peaceful coexistence" with nature

becomes impossible under the conditions of an uninterrupted arms race. Not to mention the fact that a thermonuclear conflict is fraught with the threat of the destruction of all life on earth, the production, storing and perfecting of contemporary armaments themselves lead to a catastrophic waste in the use of nonrecoverable natural resources, the destruction of entire ecosystems and to environmental pollution. Economists have estimated that by the end of our century various countries will have to allocate 3 to 5 percent of their GNP for environmental protection, or no less than \$150 billion annually. This huge sum will not seem so huge if compared with outlays spent on arms: about \$1 trillion last year alone!

The truth concerning the possible consequences of a thermonuclear conflict, determined by contemporary science, is rapidly becoming known to the broad public and giving a new content to mass democratic movements. The conclusions of most advanced natural sciences, medicine and the humanities are being extensively disseminated today by physicians, ecologists and jurists, and the shoots of a new way of thinking are showing up even where they are being deliberately suppressed by torrents of lies and slanders.

The men of culture are making an invaluable contribution to the struggle for peace and disarmament. The language of science is difficult to understand, whereas art can expose millions of people to one idea or another, influencing the feelings and emotions of readers, viewers and listeners throughout the earth. The close interaction between scientists and masters of culture may yield striking results in multiplying and uniting the peace-loving forces on earth and putting such forces in motion.

In his speech at the first all-union conference of scientists for saving mankind from the threat of nuclear war and for disarmament and peace, Academician M.A. Markov said that scientists must write two books: the first would provide a competent presentation of the truth about nuclear war; the second should be entitled "How Would it Be Without an Arms Race." A number of works have been published in recent years, providing competent information on the possible consequences of war. Refracted through the artistic imagination, such information has been the base for motion pictures which became events in world cinematography, such as the Soviet "Letters of a Dead Man" and the U.S.' "The Day After."

But perhaps an even greater educational and humanistic charge could be carried by works of art depicting the possibilities of mankind should the arms race be halted, for currently the combined strength of armed forces in the world is approximately 25 million people; these are 25 million young and healthy people removed from production and the struggle against hunger, poverty and natural disasters. Every minute \$1.5 million are spent on earth for military purposes while 30 children in the developing countries die for lack of food or medicines. Supplying the hungry in the developing countries with the food they need would require an additional allocation of \$8 billion per year; \$22 billion would suffice to solve the problem of illiteracy and put an end to the most dangerous diseases. Meanwhile, about \$1 trillion is being spent annually for military purposes! The people throughout the earth must see how deserts can turn into blossoming gardens, how people can go into the depths of the oceans and take from there what has been exhausted on dry land, and how to

walk in space for the sake of improving life on earth. All of this can be achieved already today and tomorrow, if the fetters of the arms race are removed.

The Issyk-Kul Forum, a meeting in Kirghizia by men of world culture, organized by the writer Chingiz Aytmatov, was a major social event last year. A number of difficult problems facing mankind today and which it could encounter tomorrow were discussed at this forum. Its participants noted that the creative intelligentsia could make a significant contribution to shaping a new way of thinking consistent with the progress of mankind on the threshold of the third millennium. In his talk with the participants in the forum, M.S. Gorbachev said that he shares the thought formulated at Issyk-Kul on the need for a natural link between and reciprocal need of politicians and representatives of contemporary culture to be in touch, to meet and constantly to exchange views. "... politics must be nurtured above all by the intellectual wealth of each nation and all human civilization.... A policy which is not fructified with thoughts on human destiny is a poor and immoral policy and deserves no respect," M.S. Gorbachev emphasized.

The peace movement is a powerful force which opposes the aggressive adventuristic policy of imperialism. Half a billion people signed the famous Stockholm appeal on banning nuclear weapons at the beginning of the 1950s. This helped to prevent the use of nuclear weapons during the American aggression against the Korean People's Democratic Republic. The roughly 700 million signatures gathered under the second Stockholm appeal in the 1970s erected a strong barrier to the deployment of neutron weapons in Europe.

Every conscious person on earth must demand the prevention of the deployment of nuclear weapons in space, a stop to nuclear tests, the prevention of new types of mass destruction weapons and the elimination of the suicidal nuclear arsenals this very millennium. There are no alternatives. These demands are supported by contemporary scientific studies and the authority of the best representatives of the human species, who have given the world examples of a new way of thinking which would take the development of civilization out of political, economic and other dead ends.

In his time, Olof Palme, who had done a great deal to promote the ideals of peace and disarmament, wrote: "Soviet people--workers, rural working people, engineers, teachers, physicians, men of science and culture, veterans and young people, communists and nonparty members--are most actively participating in this movement." To defend and strengthen peace and to curb the forces of aggression and militarism for the sake of the life of the present and future generations--no mission could be loftier and more responsible than this. A world without wars and without weapons is the ideal of socialism," the CPSU program proclaims.

When the first world peace congress, held in 1949, laid the beginning of the unification of peace-loving forces, the response in our country was tremendous. Large and small amounts of money sent by Soviet citizens, individually or collectively, sometimes even anonymously, expressing the short wish: for the cause of peace, began to arrive at the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace.... This laid the foundation for the Soviet peace fund,

which was officially instituted in 1961. Today the members of the Soviet peace fund number about 100 million. It is thus that they personally take part in the struggle for peace, helping through their monetary contribution the efforts of the Communist Party and Soviet state aimed at strengthening peace and preventing a world war and giving material aid to peoples fighting for freedom and independence.

The Soviet people realize the importance of and need for any type of action aimed at preserving and strengthening peace and opposing the threat of nuclear war, whether participation in the peace fund, the organization and holding of marches for peace, meetings, demonstrations, conferences, encounters, forums, and special studies, or the publication of books, journals, and posters. Anything that serves the ideals of peace and disarmament meets with a lively response in the minds and hearts of all Soviet people. "We are convinced," M.S. Gorbachev emphasized in his answer to the French peace workers, which was made public on 29 January 1987, "that every voice is important and there is a place for all countries and nations in the common process of freeing mankind from nuclear weapons."

The entire course of human events today has reached the point when it must make a decisive choice: either the further intensification or a constructive search for mutually acceptable agreements, which would halt and reverse the process of material preparations for a nuclear conflict. This choice is becoming increasingly urgent in a situation in which the continuation of the nuclear arms race threatens, sooner or later, to get out of control and when even parity may no longer be a factor of military-political containment. Meanwhile, as the CPSU points out, a new dangerous trend has appeared in the policies of the biggest capitalist countries: the desire for social revenge through achieving military superiority over socialism and, to this effect, to pursue an unrestrained nuclear arms race and put weapons in outer space.

The complex and dangerous nature of the contemporary international situation clearly separates those who stand on the positions of realism and responsibility from those who place group and egotistical interests above those of mankind. The ideological myths of imperialist propaganda, such as the notorious "Soviet threat," as well as hastily formulated foreign policy doctrines, such as the one so popular today in American government circles, the "doctrine of neoglobalism," are unable to annul the conclusions reached by the broad public on the basis of the facts of reality and a comparison between the two confronting lines in global politics, embodied in the foreign policy courses charted by Moscow and Washington, and their specific actions. Thus, for example, it is unquestionable that the people on earth, who welcomed with warm and profound interest the 1986 peace initiatives of the land of the Soviets, have a better understanding today than they had 12 months ago of the danger of a nuclear catastrophe and the need to improve international relations and, above all, to acquire a clearer vision of the ways leading to nuclear disarmament and halting tests as the prime means of its implementation and realize more clearly the need for reaching corresponding agreements based on equal security for all sides.

The interaction among a variety of social forces resting on the broad platform of the struggle for the prevention of nuclear catastrophe and saving life on

earth is increasingly strengthening and developing. Greater understanding is being gained of the fact that peace can be stronger only if peaceful and constructive coexistence, the essential foundations of which were laid by Lenin himself and, in terms of present day conditions, developed by the 27th CPSU Congress in the concept of the comprehensive system of international security, becomes the supreme and universal law governing international relations.

A people's anti-war movement, as even its enemies in right-wing bourgeois circles admit, has major effective opportunities. On the level of the mass consciousness it reflects the rejection and condemnation by the broadest possible circles of the policy of nuclear deterrent with all its consequences. It is not being said randomly that it is a manifestation of the "self-preservation instinct" of mankind, in a situation in which the threat of universal destruction as a result of a nuclear conflagration has come closer to every home and family.

It is also obvious that by no means have all the possibilities of this movement been already put to use, including those needed for establishing in world politics a new type of anti-militaristic and anti-nuclear way of thinking, based not from the "image of the enemy," and which stimulates confrontation, but the need for joint efforts for the sake of developing a universal system of international peace and security. The fact that in the activities of the anti-war movement an increasing part is played by the positive programs based on the initiatives and suggestions of the Soviet Union, the other socialist countries and all peace-loving forces contributes, on the one hand, to involving within it ever new population strata and, on the other, helps to surmount the psychological inertia in Western political circles and the lagging of minds behind the historical changes which are taking place in the world. The content of such collective demands is now the object of daily discussion by people of most different political persuasions.

The nature of the movement itself is changing under the influence of changes in the world. Becoming ever more widespread, it is increasingly widening its political and ideological foundations. The struggle for a nuclear-free world and for the survival of mankind has become today the unifying platform for actions by social forces and ideological trends which, in other areas, have quite different views. Thus, unity based on realized commonality of interests in the struggle for life itself on earth is being hammered out in broad circles.

The year 1986, which the United Nations proclaimed an International Year of Peace, was rich in important and significant events which added to the history of the peace movement. Many of them originated in our country. In addition to the Issyk-Kul Forum, they included the second all-union conference on problems of peace and prevention of nuclear war, the international forum of scientists for ending nuclear tests, the international "Science, Technology and Peace" forum, sponsored in Moscow by the World Federation of Scientists, and the meeting between Soviet and American scientists, who informally discussed a range of problems related to verification of the treaty on banning nuclear tests. We shall long remember the Goodwill Games, the exhibit "Masters of Culture for Peace" at the Moscow Manege, and a number of

discussions and press conferences in which, thanks to television, millions of people participated. The year of peace is now behind us. However, 1987 as well must become a new stage in increasing the activeness of the world public in the struggle for the prevention of nuclear catastrophe.

The increased influence of public forces on the course of international events is unquestionable, as is the fact of the enhancement of their views and their ever more decisive intervention in the conduct of international affairs. The people are developing a stronger belief in the practical attainability of a peace without wars and weapons. It is a belief that such a peace can be built already today and for which one must struggle now, today. In the nuclear missile age the universal values of peace stand above all other values and an understanding of this fact should rally even closer people of good will.

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## THE OCTOBER REVOLUTION AND LENIN'S THEORY OF THE DEFENSE OF THE REVOLUTION

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[Article by General of the Army Aleksey Dmitriyevich Lizichev, chief of the Main Political Directorate of the Soviet Army and Navy]

[Text] The Soviet people, who have begun the second year of the 12th 5-year period--the year of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Revolution--are engaged in peaceful constructive toil and in the implementation of the historical resolutions of the 27th Party Congress and the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

With their intensive efforts, eliminating phenomena of stagnation, and upgrading the initiative and responsibility of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and people's intelligentsia, all nations and nationalities, men and women, veterans and young people and Soviet soldiers are supporting the political line and practical activities of the Leninist party. Our people consider the strategy of acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development formulated at the congress and the comprehensive renovation of Soviet society a manifestation of their most profound vital interests. Thanks to the efforts of the working people changes which until recently were nothing but thoughts and plans are increasingly assuming a real shape and being embodied in specific accomplishments.

The Soviet people need lasting peace and a favorable international situation in order successfully to implement their plans for peaceful accomplishments and for the blossoming of the homeland. Our country's peaceable nature is based on the very nature of the socialist system. Socialism and peace are indivisible as convincingly confirmed by the entire history of the Soviet state.

An unbreakable tie exists between Lenin's Decree on Peace, the proclamation of which gave birth to the Soviet system, and the 15 January 1986 declaration by M.S. Gorbachev, CPSU Central Committee general secretary, which contains a program for a nuclear-free world, and which opens mankind's way to the 21st century. The line of nuclear disarmament was subsequently concretized in the suggestions formulated by our country at the Reykjavik Soviet-American summit. Every sensibly thinking person clearly realizes that peaceful initiatives coming from a powerful country are not a proof of weakness but a manifestation

of a new style of political thinking, which is so greatly needed in our age, and a high responsibility for the fate of mankind and for preserving life on earth in the face of the threat of nuclear catastrophe.

The Soviet peace initiatives are supported by the fraternal countries and all progressive mankind. The concept of a comprehensive system of international security, formulated at the 27th CPSU Congress, was supported by the UN General Assembly, on the motion of several socialist countries.

The only countries which did not support the Soviet initiatives were the United States and its NATO allies. The historical opportunity for positively solving problems related to strategic weapons, medium-range missiles, verification, ending nuclear tests and nonmilitarization of outer space was lost in Reykjavik only because the present American administration, which is in the power of the military-industrial complex, was either unwilling or unable to abandon the chimera of the SDI for the sake of real disarmament. Some Western forces, hiding behind the myth of the "Soviet military threat," proving clearly how strong the stereotypes of the old conservative way of thinking remain and how distant their policy is from the true expectations of the peoples, are trying to file away the Reykjavik agreements, which are a most important accomplishment, pretending that they simply do not exist. The United States is trying to keep its first-strike missiles in Western Europe. It has denounced the Salt-2 treaty and is undermining the antiballistic missile treaty. Remaining on the positions of "neoglobalism" and the doctrine of social revenge, American imperialism is stubbornly clinging to the obsolete aggressive policy of total struggle against the USSR and the socialist world and a militaristic policy of confrontation with them. With the help of its "star wars" program, Washington hopes to gain military superiority and disturb the existing military-strategic parity.

Such a policy is incompatible with nuclear disarmament and leads to the preservation and intensification of the threat of war.

That is why, while steadily pursuing a course of safeguarding peace and curbing and reducing the arms race, the CPSU and the Soviet state are tirelessly concerned with the defense of our homeland and with maintaining the defense power of the USSR on a level which would reliably protect the peaceful creative toil of the Soviet people, strengthen the power of the armed forces and upgrade their combat readiness. They make steady efforts to educate the land and naval forces and all Soviet people in a spirit of high vigilance and constant readiness to defend the great gains of socialism.

#### Bequeathed by Lenin and the October Revolution

The organic unity between concern for peace and defense of the revolution is one of the most important features of our party's policy. It was bequeathed to us by the great Lenin and the October Revolution. Problems of defending the socialist fatherland, the Soviet system and the historical gains of the working people have always played an important part in CPSU theoretical and practical activities. They were profoundly and comprehensively brought to light in Lenin's doctrine of the defense of the revolution and enriched at each stage of the country's historical development; today they are being

further enriched by our party with new conclusions and concepts. It is on this firm theoretical base that the party and the state are solving the responsible problems of military building and developing and strengthening the armed forces.

In his 22 October 1918 report submitted at the joint session of the All-Russian Central Executive Committee, Lenin made the following inspiring statement: "A revolution is worth something only if it can defend itself..." ("Poln. Sobr. Soch." [Complete Collected Works], vol 37, p 122). Our revolution mastered Lenin's ideas in the course of harsh battles and acquired the ability to defend itself.

Such was the case during the period of civil war and foreign military intervention, when the combined forces of domestic and foreign counterrevolution launched an open armed struggle against the land of the soviets and the revolution had to defend itself with arms, relying on the international aid of the working people abroad.

Such was also the case during the Great Patriotic War, when our people and their armed forces defended the gains of the October Revolution and the honor, freedom and independence of the homeland in the fiercest possible clash with the assault detachments of international imperialism, then headed by Hitlerite Germany, and routed fascism. The Soviet Union made a decisive contribution to the victory over the common enemy, accomplished a great liberating mission in Europe and, subsequently, in Asia, rescuing world civilization from the brown plague.

Today and in the foreseeable future the problem of defending the revolutionary gains on a national and international scale, i.e., within the world socialist community, will remain relevant as long as the USSR and its allies will be militarily threatened by militaristic circles and the aggressive forces of imperialism, the United States and NATO above all. In encouraging the arms race, American imperialism is trying not only to attain military superiority over the USSR but also to "exhaust" us economically and prevent the implementation of our national economic and social programs. Both considerations are doomed to failure. However, they are extremely dangerous because of the adventurism of their authors.

That is why the thorough formulation and further development in a Leninist spirit of most important defense problems included in the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress, are of tremendous importance. The firm observance of party requirements in Soviet military building is a matter of prime importance. The year which has passed since the congress has confirmed the great need for the party's comprehensive activities, imbued with the revolutionary spirit of restructuring and concern for the fate of our homeland and of real socialism, in strengthening the country's defenses.

The tireless attention which the Leninist party pays to the basic problems of defending the revolution and the socialist gains of the Soviet people are inseparably tied, first of all, to the basic features and most important characteristics of the October Revolution itself, the great cause which it started and the tremendous influence which the process of building a new

society in our country is having on the entire future course of the history of mankind. "The Great October Socialist Revolution," the new draft of the CPSU program emphasizes, "became a crucial event in universal history, defining the general direction and main trends of global developments and laying the beginning of an irreversible process: replacing capitalism with the new, communist socioeconomic system."

The revolution put an end once and for all to the exploitation of man by man and rescued the masses not only from social but also from national oppression and the burdens of imperialist war. The distinguishing feature of the October Revolution are loyalty to the ideals of peace and social justice, consistent democracy, proletarian internationalism and an irreconcilable attitude toward the enemies of the revolution and militarism, wars of conquest and injustice. It is no accident that the first governmental act of Soviet Russia was Lenin's Decree on Peace.

The creation of a state of dictatorship of the proletariat, as a result of the victory of the October Revolution, performed not only the function of suppressing the opposition of the overthrown classes and opposing the foreign interventionists; it also engaged in constructive and educational activities, which made peace an urgent necessity. After end of the civil war and the intervention the Soviet state reduced the size of the Red Army tenfold. During the period of peaceful socialist building it kept the armed forces at a level which could be lowered no further if the country's security was to be maintained. After the Great Patriotic War as well a mass demobilization took place in our armed forces, followed later by further reductions.

Today as well expenditures on defense, the size of the army and navy personnel and the quantity and quality of armaments and military ordnance are determined exclusively by the need to defend the fatherland and the collective defense of the gains of socialism. Nothing more than what is necessary is being done. This is the core of Soviet military doctrine and of the military policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state.

The cause which was started with the Great October Revolution has kept its true revolutionary nature to this day, 7 decades after the power of the capitalists and landowners was overthrown. Our country was and remains a pioneer in the revolutionary renovation of mankind and a bulwark of peace and progress. This triggers the hatred and malice of the forces of aggression and reaction. They fear the fact that the successful implementation of the line of the 27th CPSU Congress will inevitably increase the revolutionizing international influence of the homeland of the October Revolution and of Lenin.

Second, our party's attention to problems of defending the revolution and the socialist gains and their significance is due to the fact that the most reactionary, aggressive and imperialist circles are stubbornly trying to turn the wheel of history back by force or deceit. We must take into consideration the qualitative changes which have taken place in military affairs in the nuclear space age. Therefore, the responsive measures which the USSR and its allies are taking in securing and strengthening the reliable protection of the peaceful toil of their nations are just and vitally necessary.

Third, history itself and the unforgettable experience of the recent past, the harsh lessons of the Great Patriotic War, of its initial period above all, teach us a responsible attitude toward such problems. The strictest possible consideration of the factor of surprise, which the aggressor will inevitably use, assumes particular importance. We must not allow a situation in which the peace-loving countries, victims of a hostile policy and military preparations, turn out less well-prepared to defend themselves than the aggressor who is planning the attack. Placidity, carelessness, complacency and naive pacifism, as well as overestimating the possibilities of aggressive imperialist circles are inadmissible.

We paid a very high price for our victory in the last war. A contemporary war, should the imperialists dare to unleash it, would result in immeasurably greater casualties and destructions, even if limited use of mass destruction weapons is made. That is why our party is doing and will do everything possible to safeguard peace, to prevent a nuclear catastrophe and, in general, to eliminate wars of conquest from the life of mankind. At the same time, it is taking the necessary steps for the Soviet armed forces always to be on the level of modern requirements and act as a reliable guard of the fatherland and of the peaceful toil of their people and, together with the fraternal armies, the security of the entire socialist community and universal peace.

#### Battle-Tested Doctrine

Long before the October Revolution Lenin became interested in problems of defending the revolution and the gains of the working people. He made a profound and comprehensive study and creative use of the experience of the revolutions and wars of previous ages and the richest possible scientific and theoretical legacy of Marx and Engels, the founders of scientific communism, on such problems. Particularly significant among the most important concepts of revolutionary theory were those of the socialist fatherland, ideas and conclusions on the ways of overthrowing bourgeois rule by the proletariat, its seizure and retention of political power, the creation of a state of proletarian dictatorship and its military organization, and others.

Under the new historical circumstances, in the epoch of imperialism and proletarian revolutions, based on a scientific analysis of the monopoly stage in capitalism, Lenin developed these Marxist ideas, inseparably linking them to the theory of the socialist revolution and creating a streamlined theory of its defense. Particularly important are Lenin's conclusions on the possibility of a victory of the socialist revolution initially in a few or even in a single country; on the aspiration of the bourgeoisie of other countries to defeat the proletariat in the socialist state and the legitimacy and justice of a war in its defense; and on the need to prepare to defend the revolution and to have the proper military organization to do so.

The stipulation of the legitimate and just nature of a war in defense of the victorious socialist revolution and its main accomplishment--a fatherland of the working people--was and remains the cornerstone of Lenin's doctrine. Formulated in his work "The Military Program of the Proletarian Revolution" and developed in other works, it has lost none of its relevance. Its outstanding significance is that the defense of the socialist fatherland--

entirely consistent with life and its objective requirements--was comprehensively substantiated by Lenin as the most important law of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism.

This concept was proved through the experience of the revolutionary struggle and our country's entire heroic history. The domestic and foreign counterrevolution reacted to the news of the victory of the October Revolution with unconcealed hatred. It mounted battles against the revolution virtually from its very start. After the imperialist reliance on the strength of the overthrown classes and the hordes of the Kaiser failed to yield immediate results, the ruling circles of the Entente and the United States mounted an open military intervention. Operating on the basis of already formulated plans, they pharisaically concealed their counterrevolutionary, expansionistic and aggressive plans behind some kind of wish to "help" the Russian people to expel the Germans, and slanderous fabrications of the "red menace" and the "bolshevik threat," and demagogic claims of defending the "legitimate" interests of the Western powers and their citizens in Russia. Already then the anti-Soviet bogie was used against a country tortured by the war and by local and foreign predators a country which had barely been able to take the path of freedom.

The present generations of anti-Soviets are zealously concealing the fact that as early as December 1917 an agreement was signed in Paris between England and France on mounting a military attack on the Soviet republic and dividing between them "zones of influence" in Russia. England claimed the Caucasus, the Don and the Kuban; France wanted the Ukraine, the Crimea and Bessarabia. A plan for a broader military intervention was formulated in January 1918, this time with the participation of representatives of the United States and Japan. According to that plan, the United States was to occupy Siberia and Japan the Far East. England and the United States were also "concerned" about the future of Murmansk, Arkhangelsk and vast areas of our north. Subsequently, French troops joined British and American forces. The intervention in that area started in March 1918. One month later Japanese forces landed in Vladivostok. They were subsequently joined by British and later by American forces. It was thus that as early as the spring of 1918, even before the bloody Entente campaigns, which merged with the Russian White Guards, a broad military intervention was mounted by the imperialist powers against the young Soviet republic.

That is why at that time Lenin's mobilizing words were of tremendous importance: "We have been defending ourselves since 25 October 1917. We are for the 'defense of the fatherland,' but the patriotic war we are waging is a war for a socialist fatherland, for socialism as the fatherland, for a Soviet republic as a detachment of the universal army of socialism" (op cit., vol 36, p 82). This was a principle-minded policy, honest to its own people and the peoples of other countries. It was systematically implemented by Lenin's party. During the Great War, in fighting defenders of the menshevik-S.R. variety, not to mention the openly reactionary forces, the bolsheviks were hastening the birth of the true fatherland--the fatherland of the working people. This fatherland was born as a result of the victory of the October Revolution. Lenin's doctrine of its defense and the revolutionary practice of the Bolshevik Party included everything that was necessary for such a

defense--a sum total of economic, sociopolitical, ideological and purely military measures. The latter were aimed at ensuring the armed defense of the gains of the revolution. "Without the armed defense of the socialist republic," Lenin emphasized, "we could not exist" (op cit., vol 38, p 138). That is why the "Declaration of the Rights of the Working and Exploited People," which was drafted by Lenin and adopted at the Third All-Russian Congress of Soviets, in January 1918, decreed the arming of the working people, the raising of a socialist army of workers and peasants and the total disarming of the property-owning classes.

When the German hordes mounted their attack in February 1918 and a mortal threat hung over the socialist fatherland, the raising of the armed forces of our state began with the call of Lenin and the Bolshevik Party, on the basis of the 28 January and 11 February Sovnarkom decrees on setting up a worker-peasant red army and a worker-peasant red navy. The decrees set the basic principles of Soviet military building and, for the first time in history, the class nature of an army was officially proclaimed. While the bourgeois armies, although this was thoroughly concealed by the ruling classes, have always been tools for oppressing the working people regardless of circumstances, the Red Army was set up to defend the gains of the October Revolution as the bulwark of the power of the workers and peasants.

The historical merit of the Communist Party, headed by Lenin, was that under the most difficult circumstances of the civil war and foreign military intervention, dislocation and grave shortages of material resources and cadres, the collapse of the old army and the lack of practical experience in military organization it developed such an army. It was a revolutionary, internationalist mass army, strong with its conscious discipline, an army of high moral spirit, inflexibly convinced in the rightness of the cause for which it fought. It was an army with centralized control, which could carry out its responsible assignments and which won a universal historical victory over the joint forces of the domestic and foreign counterrevolution in the civil war and in repelling the foreign intervention. Lenin's words proved true: "No one can defeat a nation in which the workers and peasants, in their majority, have found out, felt and seen that they are defending their own Soviet system, the system of the working people, that they are defending the cause whose victory will give them and their children the possibility of enjoying all the benefits of culture and all accomplishments of human labor" (op cit., vol 38, p 315).

Lenin's doctrine of the defense of the revolution formulates the most important principles of Soviet military building: Communist Party leadership of the armed forces of the country; a class approach in building such forces; inseparable unity between army and people; loyalty to proletarian internationalism; cadre organization of the armed forces; centralized control over such forces; one-man command; high conscious military discipline; supplying the armed forces with everything they need to carry out their assignment; their constant combat readiness to repel aggression. These principles were tested in the course of two harsh wars which were unleashed against our country and will remain entirely applicable as long as a military threat against the socialist fatherland remains.

Loyal to Marxism-Leninism and the principles of proletarian and socialist internationalism and Lenin's behests, the CPSU is steadily guided by the fundamental ideas of the great leader of the revolution, enriching them with new concepts and conclusions which reflect the realities of our restless time and the new demands of global developments and advances in military affairs.

#### Development of the Leninist Doctrine of the Defense of the Revolution by the 27th Congress

The concepts, assessments and conclusions of the congress on the basic problems of the international situation and the basic trends and contradictions in the contemporary world enable us to interpret more broadly and profoundly the problems of defending the socialist fatherland and the gains of socialism, above all in connection with the aggravated military and political situation in the world and the remaining threat of war as a result of the increased aggressiveness of imperialism, American in particular.

In this connection, stipulations on the legitimate nature of defending the socialist fatherland from any encroachments on the part of imperialist aggressors play a major part in the congress' documents. They not simply confirm the most important Leninist conclusion but also substantially supplement and develop it in accordance with the new aspects and complexities of the contemporary situation in the world, the realities of the nuclear space age, the radical sociopolitical changes in the life of mankind and the historical achievements of our country and of real socialism as a whole.

The congress' materials are a brilliant confirmation of our party's line of peaceful political settlement of existing international problems and reliably ensuring the safety of all nations, of the Soviet state above all. The CPSU Central Committee political report to the 27th Party Congress, presented by M.S. Gorbachev, states: "Taking into consideration the complexity of the international situation and the growing aggressiveness of reactionary imperialist circles, the CPSU Central Committee and Central Committee Politburo pay tireless attention to the country's defense capability and the combat power of the USSR armed forces...." In the new draft of the party program this aspect of the problem is expressed also in terms of state functions: "The Communist Party of the Soviet Union considers the defense of the socialist fatherland, strengthening the country's defense and securing the safety of the state among the most important functions of the Soviet state."

These concepts codify the programmatic stipulations and attitude of the party toward one of the prime aspects of its policies. They fully agree with its peaceful foreign policy course and are concretized in the Soviet military doctrine, which is a system of guiding principles and scientific views of the CPSU and the Soviet state on the nature of a possible war which could be unleashed by imperialism against the Soviet Union and the other members of the socialist community, and preparations for it by the country and its armed forces and means of waging it. Our military doctrine, based on Marxist-Leninist concepts and Lenin's theory of the defense of the revolution and the conclusions drawn in the CPSU program on war and peace in the nuclear age stem from the party's policy in the areas of the country's defense and security. Unlike the aggressive military doctrine of the United States and its NATO

allies, it is of a strictly defensive nature and is aimed at protecting the gains of socialism from foreign threats and safeguarding peace on earth.

Our country unilaterally assumed the obligation not to be the first to use nuclear weapons. It formulated the historically important program for the gradual elimination of nuclear weapons and other types of mass destruction armaments and firmly calls for halting--with proper verification--nuclear explosions; with its lengthy unilateral moratorium, it set an example for the United States and other countries in this respect. It is struggling against the militarization of space and for an end to the arms race on earth. The USSR firmly rejects nuclear war as a means of solving political and ideological disputes. It condemns aggressive strategic concepts of a preventive first strike, limited nuclear war, the doctrine of "neoglobalism" and others. This is an active condemnation which calls for the adoption of retaliatory measures, for it is a question of the most important thing: the safety of our homeland and its future. That is why while the threat of war remains, as was emphasized at the 27th CPSU Congress, "again and again we repeat: the Soviet Union does not lay a claim to greater security but nor will it accept a lesser one."

The concepts and conclusions relative to strengthening and perfecting the military organization of the Soviet state and its armed forces and solving the most important problems they face, play the main role in the documents of the congress in terms of the development of the Leninist doctrine of defending the revolution. From the viewpoint of domestic conditions, our society does not need an army. However, as long as the danger that imperialism may mount aggressive wars and military conflicts remains, the party will pay tireless attention to strengthening the defense power of the USSR and its security and to the readiness of the armed forces to defeat any aggressor. The armed forces and the state security organs must display high vigilance. They must always be ready to block enemy intrigues aimed at the USSR and its allies. The CPSU will dedicate all the necessary efforts for the country's armed forces to be on a level which would exclude any strategic superiority of imperialist forces. The military-strategic parity which was achieved between the USSR and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO was a historical gain of socialism. It strengthened the positions of the USSR and the other socialist countries and all progressive forces and wrecked the hopes of aggressive imperialist circles of winning a global nuclear war. The preservation of disparity is a major factor in safeguarding peace and international security.

At the same time, our country and its allies are calling for a steady reduction in the level of the military-strategic balance and in the amount of armaments on both sides and the guaranteed security of all nations. There is no weapon which the USSR is not ready to limit or ban on a mutual basis with efficient verification. It is only the position held by the American administration and its militaristic course, backed by reactionary circles in NATO and other supporters of Washington that motivate us to be tirelessly concerned with strengthening the armed forces, which are a true army of peace and a firm obstacle on the path of any aggressor.

Thanks to the concern of the party and the state, the Soviet army and navy have modern weapons and ordnance, a well-trained personnel and highly skilled command and political cadres loyal to the people. They are performing their duty under most difficult and occasionally harsh circumstances. The defense power of the USSR is being maintained on a level which enables us reliably to protect the peaceful toil and life of the Soviet people. The party and the state, the congress emphasized, have always aspired to help the Soviet military--soldiers and officers--who are performing their difficult service--to feel the concern and attention of the society and for our army to be a school for civic responsibility, courage and patriotism.

The party is showing great and unabated concern for upgrading the combat potential of the armed forces so that, as was pointed out at the congress, they may be a "firm alloy of military skill and high technical equipment, ideological firmness, personnel organization and discipline and loyalty to patriotic and international duty."

These stipulations formulate not only the prime and long-term tasks of CPSU defense policy at the present crucial stage in domestic and foreign developments but also its most important requirements concerning the armed forces, the party members in the army and navy, and the military cadres under the circumstances of a decisive struggle for peace on earth, the acceleration of the country's socioeconomic development and the radical restructuring of all aspects of our life and work. Acceleration and restructuring are comprehensive processes which cover all aspects in the life and activities of the party, state and society and of every Soviet person. They fully apply to the armed forces, above all because the country's successes in the economic, social and cultural areas and in the development of science and technology decisively affect supplying the army and navy with the most modern combat equipment and weaponry, ensuring the availability of the necessary material resources, staffing them with thoroughly trained military cadres and with an educated and spiritually and physically strong personnel, and the state of military science.

Like the rest of the country, in these areas the armed forces have achievements as well as difficulties and unsolved problems and shortcomings. The command, the political organs and the army and navy party organizations and military cadres are persistently mastering new ways and means of activity; ever more purposefully they are eliminating anything which is hindering our work and life, displaying an innovative approach and efforts to upgrade the combat readiness of the army and navy, strengthen military discipline and unite the multinational collectives in the armed forces. However, we also have among us those who still fail to understand the nature of the restructuring or are unable to reorganize themselves. Some of them voice their approval of the restructuring while continuing to work as before, without initiative or a creative approach.

As in the past, some units and large units do not ascribe prime significance to important problems, such as decisively improving military discipline, ensuring strict internal order and unity in military collectives, and strengthening within them relations based on regulations. Indulgence and simplification in combat and political training have not been eliminated

everywhere. In some cases problems of cultural services to the personnel and families of military servicemen are being solved sluggishly. Difficulties caused by the insufficient physical and psychological preparedness of some young people for military service show up. Some young soldiers and seamen are poorly familiar with the Russian language, which hinders at first the processes of communicating, education, training and carrying out the service. We are taking all of this into consideration and surmounting it. However, in the light of the resolutions of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, this must be done more decisively, firmly and consistently, with a feeling of high responsibility to the party and the people.

Acceleration and restructuring have yet another important side which demands much greater returns and better quality work: the quickest and most efficient mastery of modern ordnance and weaponry, their skillful use, careful maintenance, and economic utilization of resources. Life urgently demands a comprehensive conversion to intensive ways and means of training and upbringing in the interest of further improving the land, air and sea training of army and navy forces.

Commanders, political workers, all military cadres and army and navy party and Komsomol members have a broad field of activity in enhancing the human factor, which is of decisive importance in military affairs as well. A firm base has been laid for the successful solution of this problem in military service. Young people with high general education and, many of them, with developed labor skills, are entering the army and navy. Nearly 80 percent of the draftees today come with higher or secondary training and the others have at least an eighth-grade education. More than 84 percent of army and navy draftees have mastered various technical skills in industry, agriculture or DOSAAF, whose organizations recently celebrated their great 60th anniversary. The absolute majority of Soviet military personnel are members of the CPSU or the Komsomol. Their model behavior in training and discipline are a major prerequisite in the implementation of all of our tasks.

The high ideological-political and moral-combat qualities of the Soviet troops are confirmed by their daily military work, frequently under most difficult conditions of combat watch, flights, long sea trips, landings, exercises and maneuvers, protecting the state borders of the USSR, and so on. The most vivid example in this case is the dedicated and courageous implementation of international duty by the forces of the limited contingent of Soviet forces in Afghanistan.

Let us particularly emphasize the importance of the fundamental stipulation of the 27th CPSU Congress and the January 1987 Central Committee Plenum concerning cadre problems and the tremendous influence of their systematic implementation on the pace and results of acceleration and restructuring. The state of affairs in the armed forces as well decisively depends on the political maturity, level of professional training and competence of cadres. Requirements concerning military schools were drastically upgraded after the April 1985 CPSU Central Committee Plenum and the party congress. Many young officers, generals and admirals--sons and grandsons of the winners and participants in the Great Patriotic War, were promoted in the army and navy. The overwhelming majority of them are successfully coping with their

obligations. Unfortunately, there have been also cases of a different nature: omissions in the service, insufficient responsibility, lack of attention to subordinates, fear of openness and truthful information, and aspiration to conceal shortcomings and to embellish the state of affairs. Such phenomena must be subject to a principle-minded party assessment and nipped in the bud, in the spirit of the essentially revolutionary processes of restructuring and renovation which are taking place in our society and affecting the armed forces as their organic component.

The congress' stipulation of strengthening the profound link between army and people is of great importance. Our armed forces are the offspring of the great Soviet people and their flesh and blood; they are the people's loyal defender. They are the live embodiment of the friendship among the fraternal peoples of the USSR and the unity of interests of the working class, kolkhoz peasantry and intelligentsia. The Soviet soldiers actively participate in sociopolitical life and economic activities. Currently they have mounted a socialist competition under the slogan of "We Shall Implement the Resolutions of the 27th CPSU Congress and Celebrate the 70th Anniversary of the Great October Revolution Through Our Selfless Military Labor!"

In nature and character our armed forces are part of the entire nation. Serving in their ranks are citizens of all nations and nationalities in the USSR, regardless of race, national affiliation, religious faith, education or social status. The defense of the socialist fatherland and service in the armed forces are the honorable obligation and sacred duty of the citizens of the USSR. Under contemporary conditions the importance of patriotic and internationalist as well as the military-patriotic upbringing of soldiers, young people and all Soviet people and the comprehensive preparing of young people for military service is enhanced. Major steps were taken after the 27th CPSU Congress substantially to improve such comprehensive work by party and soviet agencies, trade union and Komsomol organizations, the armed forces, DOSAAF, our great veterans and the All-Union Znaniye Society. The main work, however, lies ahead.

The concept of the leading role of the Communist Party in organizing the defense of the fatherland plays an important role in the documents of the 27th CPSU Congress. "The very foundation in strengthening the defense of the socialist homeland," we read in the new draft of the party program, "is the guidance provided by the Communist Party in military building and the armed forces. The policy of defense and security of the country and the Soviet military doctrine are formulated and implemented under the party's guiding role...."

The congress' documents thoroughly highlighted the legitimacy of the growth of the leading role of the party in the life of Soviet society under the new historical circumstances. This stipulation fully applies to the armed forces, bearing in mind the specific nature of their tasks.

Our Leninist party is strengthening its organizing and guiding influence on the life and activities of the armed forces. It is strengthening one-man command and enhancing the role and influence of political organs and party organizations in the Soviet army and navy and the standards of party political

work. It is raising the party members and all Soviet people in a spirit of unabated concern for strengthening the country's defense capability.

Guided by the CPSU program and statutes, and working on the basis of stipulations and instructions approved by the Central Committee, the political organs and party organizations in the army and navy are ensuring the implementation of party policy in the armed forces. The army and navy party members rally the troops around the Communist Party and raise them in the spirit of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and infinite loyalty to the socialist homeland; they actively promote the strengthening of the unity between army and people and are concerned with upgrading the combat readiness of army and navy forces, strengthening military discipline and mobilizing the personnel for the implementation of assignments in combat and political training, mastering new equipment and weapons, impeccably carrying out their military duties and obeying the orders and instructions of the command.

In organizing and performing our ideological and political and educational work, we are steadily guided by Lenin's concept of the decisive importance, in any war, of the "spirit of the masses who are shedding their blood on the battlefield" (op cit., vol 41, p 121) and the stipulations of the 27th Party Congress concerning ideology at the sharp turn in which our country and the entire world find themselves. In terms of the army and navy, the reliable protection of the fatherland means, above all, harnessing the personnel and the military cadres for the strict implementation of the most responsible assignments which the party has set to the armed forces under the present difficult and explosive military and political situation in the world; it means maintaining a state of combat readiness in which the aggressive forces would not dare to disturb the peaceful toil of the Soviet people and the peoples of the fraternal countries; and mercilessly exposing hostile ideological subversion. It is in accordance with the congress' requirements that we are currently structuring the entire upbringing and training of the personnel and striving to strengthen further the high political and moral condition, which is traditional in our armed forces, and their ideological superiority over any aggressor. This is an important part of their combat potential and the spiritual foundation for the constant combat readiness of the army and navy.

The assessment of the armed forces which was made at the CPSU Central Committee January Plenum inspires and sets great obligations to us. Its decree "On Party Restructuring and Cadre Policy" reads: "The CPSU Central Committee highly rates the activities of military cadres and the personnel of the Soviet army and navy, who are reliably protecting the peaceful toil of the people and the safety of the homeland and are honorably fulfilling their international duty. We must continue to enhance the responsibility of commanders, political workers, the entire officer corps, and the party organizations in the army and navy in maintaining military discipline on a high level, encourage the ideological and moral upbringing of the troops and their combat and political training, and be always concerned with the living conditions of the military personnel and their families." These stipulations of the Leninist party are accepted by the Soviet military personnel as a battle program for urgent practical action.

The 27th Party Congress paid great attention to the international defense of the gains of socialism. The CPSU and the fraternal parties show constant concern for strengthening the combat alliance among the armies of the socialist countries and for improving the joint armed forces of the Warsaw Pact members. This is what socialist internationalism in action means.

Lenin's doctrine of the defense of the revolution was and remains our reliable ideological and theoretical weapon. Soviet military science and military art and the armed forces of the USSR will continue to develop on its basis.

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## HUMAN FACTOR AND SOCIAL JUSTICE: DISCUSSION RESULTS

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[Text] The editors are continuing to receive responses to the article by Academician T.I. Zaslavskaya (KOMMUNIST, No 13, 1986). For almost 6 months the topic of this article has been present in this journal and interest in it remains unabated. Nevertheless, after reading hundreds of letters and other materials, the editors have deemed it expedient to sum up some results of the discussion, based on considerations expressed by our readers. We are publishing this survey immediately after the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum, which shed a new light on many problems, including those raised in the editorial mail. The uniform trend of party ideas and decisions and the thoughts which are exciting our public are legitimate. The plenum expressed feelings which had developed deep within the people, as confirmed by the mail received by KOMMUNIST.

Let us say a few words on the nature of this mail. Above all, no single piece of correspondence we have received has been anonymous. Their authors, whether hoping to be published or not, agreeing with the concepts formulated in the article or else, conversely, criticizing them (sometimes quite sharply) invariably give their name, address, profession, etc. This fact itself is noteworthy. Under the changed circumstances everyone is hoping that the discussion will be frank and honest. Views are expressed openly with the assumption that they are necessary and important today and that an opinion could play a role in the current restructuring.

Characteristically, the questions which were raised for discussion (the readers note that in collectives and at meetings such problems are discussed less frequently, but more under informal circumstances and that many of them have long become customary and subject neither to change nor even doubt) have led young and old, workers and specialists in industry and agriculture, scientists and teachers, party workers, economic managers and propagandists to express their views. We have received letters from Vladivostok to Lvov and from Petrozavodsk to Tbilisi. Therefore, everything related to man and his work and relations of social justice is affecting today many people everywhere.

The main noteworthy feature in the majority of letters is their constructive viewpoint. "We have many shortcomings. The press is full of exposures. Some

people read court cases exclusively. I am familiar with some who regularly skim newspapers in libraries seeking precisely such materials about which they later talk...." (From the letter by V. Koptev, Grozny). Such "exposure" itself is a healthy principle in our life, confirming the establishment of an atmosphere of democracy and openness. Nor has editorial mail received in the course of the discussion ignored negative phenomena. Unlike the lovers of simply making "judgments," as a rule our authors are interested above all in the "whys" and "wherefores," in the roots, the reasons for given phenomena and ways of solving problems. This precisely is the constructive line of work followed in their thinking.

What are our readers thinking, discussing and suggesting?

'Gift' or 'Burden?'

First of all, they discuss the reconstruction or, rather, the human factor in the development of society today and the conditions of restructuring. Many people are already noting occurring and tangible change. "The honest Soviet people (they are in the overwhelming majority) welcome the activities of the CPSU Central Committee aimed at solving basic economic and ideological problems. The dishonest are beginning to feel worse than they felt a few years ago. This makes us happy." ..."People have begun to look around them more closely and to notice what they ignored earlier, and to tell the truth where they previously kept silent." ..."Our society was short of 'economic' attention to the individual and to shaping an attitude toward labor through personal interest. That is why today an intensive search is underway for ways of stimulating labor which would create a permanent 'self-acting' economic effect of interested attitude on the part of the individual to labor aspects, such as the display of initiative and enterprise" (from the letters of V. Vilchinskiy, Leningrad; Yu. Moskalenko, Kalush, Ivano-Frankovsk Oblast; and G. Knyazev, Vladivostok).

However, serious concern is expressed as well. Here is one such letter: "For more than one quarter century I have been a volunteer propagandist of party ideas, obeying the dictate of my conscience, and I believe that I am a good judge of people. People trust me. I greatly fear that the restructuring initiated by the party will not be accepted by the people as a project of their own. The people will not assume responsibility for its implementation and will behave like passengers aboard a ship, who cannot be blamed if the ship runs aground. No, the people are welcoming the restructuring with all their heart but they are welcoming it as a gift from the CPSU Central Committee rather than as a difficult and responsible burden. It is as though in our 'irrepressible concern for the good of the people' we are exceeding all boundaries, turning them into a helpless infants, as though these were not the people who made the October Revolution, routed fascism and have been engaged in building a new society for the past 70 years.

"I am concerned by the indifference which many people are showing toward the party's appeals. This is not a typical condition. An atmosphere is prevailing of universal expectation and it is difficult to predict its eventual development. It is becoming difficult to speak with many people, who have become worked up by the unfairness shown by some zealous superiors and

their helplessness to influence them. The managers themselves, despite strict party measures, have so far shown no intention of giving up their positions and privileges. We are calling on the people to fight bureaucratism without guaranteeing their rights...." (I. Vasilenko, retired colonel and war veteran, Chernigov).

This was a sincere and serious letter. Was it justified? Yes, for all of us know how negatively the shortcomings which occurred in the past affected the labor and the civic activeness of individuals (which was most openly discussed at the 27th Party Congress and the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum). All of us can see how difficult the current reconstruction becomes when it clashes with such consequences (unfortunately, quite deeply rooted), and with surmounting the open or, frequently, concealed resistance of those who liked the old situation and the old order. Management methods, style of treating people, relations of the "we and they" type, scorn for democratic standards, views and assessments of the "lower strata," and all that we describe today as belonging to "yesterday" is still being felt. Many such examples are cited in the letters to KOMMUNIST.

How and by what means can we counter this?

Some letter writers consider that the most radical way is firmly to get rid of compromised workers. "The people accept with enthusiasm and hope all practical steps which the party takes to bring order. Cadre restructuring must be continued at lower management levels in various national economic units, without which the process of the country's intensification and accelerated development is impossible." ..."I believe useless and senseless to waste time in all kinds of admonitions on the need for a 'psychological restructuring' of managers whose awareness and thoughts are consistent with social production relations which were predominant in the last couple of decades." ..."I believe that our state has trained a sufficient number of technically and politically knowledgeable specialists, with a feeling of high party responsibility, who must be boldly promoted to leading positions and trusted".... (From the letters of I. Savel'yev, Moscow; L. Afanasyev, Yaroslavl; and A. Solodovnikov, Moscow).

It is hardly necessary to prove how important a good modern leader and his knowledge, activeness and moral qualities are to the people and the cause, and to improving the economy and the labor and moral atmosphere. The attention paid to cadre policy is legitimate. However, are all problems solved with the appointment of a new manager? Many people consider such "local scale" reconstruction like the same type of "gift," this time offered by a local manager.

However, the letters contain what appears to be the opposite question. "Looking closely at our lives, could we assert that the amount of obligations is consistent with the amount of rights at each 'social stage?' Has there not been a shortcut?"..."Today a great deal is being said about bureaucracy and restructuring, which must take place 'from above' and 'from below.' 'From above' is clear but what about 'from below?'".... (From the letters of G. Postnov, Lipetsk, and A. Bondarev, Gorkiy). Most readers who have stated their views on these aspects of the problem are of the opinion that the main

thing is to ensure the actual participation of everyone in restructuring; the people must have the right to influence its course. The restructuring, as was most emphatically stressed at the January Central Committee Plenum, must be based on the profound democratization of all realms of our social life.

How is this accomplished? Some readers (including I. Vasilenko, the author of the letter we cited) suggest in this connection the idea of perfecting the forms of people's control and the updated interpretation of Lenin's words on control as being truly nationwide and comprehensive. The overwhelming majority of letters stress real participation, the fact that the people themselves must directly undertake the formulation and adoption of decisions of vital importance to themselves and to the rest of the country. They stress the need for decisively applying the Marxist-Leninist idea formulated at the 27th Party Congress on socialist self-government by the people, including self-government in production.

Here is what A. Puzanovskiy, candidate of economic sciences from Kostroma, writes on this subject: "In order to motivate a person to go up, as a minimum he should be given a ladder. The rungs leading to a new and higher level of activeness and to releasing the energy potential of the human factor in economics are the steps earmarked at the 27th Party Congress on decentralizing management and developing self-government, use of total cost accounting to the level of real self-financing, etc. At a certain stage in the development of the economy and culture, the social quality of the individual and his activeness in satisfying his economic needs reach a level at which the conscious internal need for the real, the specific actualization of his personality as the true "co-owner" of socialist production is manifested. Public ownership lays the foundations for this. However, in the minds of the majority this foundation is an abstraction and if we were to stop there the implementation of ownership functions and the possibility of assuming responsibility, rights and risks involved in true self-governing will be equally abstract. This already touches upon the institutions, structures and ways and means of economic management through which people can realize this need and thus acquire a most specific, sensory and true social experience.... In this connection, one cannot seriously assume that the desired "burst" of human energy could be triggered with insignificant and nonessential changes."

Nevertheless, the letters point out, a distorted idea of the very meaning of the intensification of socialist self-government by the people is quite widespread. The view exists (particularly in the local areas and labor collectives) that everything will be reduced to a formal transfer to self-governing bodies of some functions previously performed by administrations. For this reason in frequent cases new instructions are being drafted based on old experience.

The readers rightly emphasize that it is a question of a strategic concept of radically restructuring the activities of socioeconomic institutions in our society. Many letters and other materials discuss specific ways of perfecting the economic management mechanism (this, however, is the topic of a different discussion currently sponsored by KOMMUNIST, which, incidentally, was not discussed by T.I. Zaslavskaya, who concentrated on problems of interaction of the human factor in production and social policy).

This problem has yet another side. "In a society in which priority is given to collective labor for its benefit, the practical underestimating of the interests of the individual in the general stream of work is no longer admissible," G. Knyazev, Vladivostok, writes. "Today no one doubts that neither the collective nor the contracting brigade with its progressive but nonetheless subjective labor participation coefficient can function normally, without hitches unless, behind the seeming relative prosperity, ways are found to enhance the objective features of the individual in the course of his work and unless the person can find a proper use for his capabilities."

The fast change in production technology and structure, which is so greatly needed under contemporary conditions, also presumes and stimulates the display of the capabilities of every worker, uncompromising struggle against sluggishness and bureaucratism and prompt support of talent. "In our view, the most important feature in the manifestation of the human factor is the problem of identifying and supporting innovators and talented people, which is what determines the acceleration of scientific and technical progress," notes L. Rodionov, candidate of economic sciences, Minsk. "We must find talented scientists whose "behavior" may not fit ordinary standards. We must find talents among students, on whom professors and docents should concentrate their attention, although, so far, the latter have been dedicating their precious time to lagging students. We must find the talented mechanizer who can develop an efficient technological production line at the livestock farm from discarded motors and parts. Talented and innovative people exist everywhere and, strange though it might seem, in the course of the current restructuring their situation worsens, for they are as a rule people who are curious, restless, active and unusual. They disturb ordinary concepts and 'hinder' a peaceful life."

However, man himself, who has not become accustomed to defining his own "individual labor potential," still tends to consider the requirements of restructuring as being addressed essentially to the entire collective but not to himself, as an individual. Meanwhile, life demands a more intelligent, accurate and efficient way of working. Cost accounting puts man under circumstances in which he must develop some qualities within himself, improve his skills, apply the latest technical achievements, etc.

Is the individual ready for this?

Understandably, the editorial mail reflects the opinion of people who are by no means passive. However, their letters also include a number of demands concerning themselves. "Frankly speaking, we are discussing too much what is owed to us and much less what we must do. Just imagine: Less than one-third of all people work at full capacity!... "In our criticism our shortcomings are sometimes depicted as moss-covered rocks in the middle of a road, obstructing our progress. We see them, remove them in one fell swoop and everything is well. Our shortcomings, however, are not outside of us. They are not something alien. Our pluses and minuses are within us. Man's 'inclusion' in social and labor activities unquestionably does not exhaust his actual social potential. Every one of us dedicates to the solution of social problems to say the least less than his forces allow. The high level of such returns will be a feature of the self-governing society. Today, however,

obviously it would be legitimate to speak of a certain (quite significant) portion of our own intellect, nervous energy and strength which we could but are unable to give to society, even if occasionally the impression develops that we are 'unwilling' to do so...." "We are quite clumsy, inert and procrastinating. Your journal should formulate the question approximately as follows: What to do to make us more energetic".... (From the letters of V. Koptev, Groznyy; S. Zagrubskiy, Leningrad; and V. Yuryev, Rostov, Yaroslavl Oblast).

However, we also come across the following view: "As to increasing labor productivity, it is achieved not by increasing labor intensiveness but as a result of more efficient equipment, technology, etc." (From the letter by worker I. Mininzon, Gorkiy).

Who is against highly efficient technology? Yet the article by V. Kostakov, doctor of economic sciences, which was published in the course of the debate (see KOMMUNIST No 2, 1987) convincingly proved the still very low level of labor intensiveness in our country at most enterprises and the harm that the established concepts of a "normal" labor regimen is causing the country and all of us.... And what about the uninvolved?

In the age of the scientific and technical revolution as well the importance of the human factor in production and the role of the creative, the socially active individual is enhanced rather than diminished. Man, who is the target and means of development of our society, remains the main force in restructuring. Will every one of us take up restructuring as his own personal project, as a hard "burden" is, most likely, the main problem today.

#### Justice and Efficiency Both

In her article T.I. Zaslavskaya pointed out that the way to awakening the social activeness, energy and initiative of the broadest possible toiling strata is achieved mainly with the consistent, profound and all-round coordination of personal and collective interests of workers and collectives and the interests of society. In considering the manner in which party social policy is contributing to the solution of this problem in the socioeconomic area, the author concentrated above all on one of the programmatic tasks: the growing implementation in all areas of social relations of the principle of social justice. It is precisely these problems and various "shortcuts" in distribution that were perceived particularly painfully by the people in the last years which preceded the 27th Party Congress. Naturally, most of the letters to the editors mention this topic.

Characteristically, in the large volume of mail we received there has been virtually no open pitting of social justice against economic efficiency. Obviously, the stipulation of the congress on the priority of the social sphere is beginning to set everything in its proper place. We are well familiar with the practice in which the allocation of resources for the development of the social area was considered (as noted by S. Shatalin, USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, in his article published in the course of the discussion) "as an attempt to solve only purely social problems, frequently in terms of social philanthropy, as a direct detraction from the

pace of the country's economic growth" (see KOMMUNIST, No 14, 1986). We also recall the losses in economic efficiency which sometimes accompanied substantial gains in the area of social justice. It appeared as though these concepts were "doomed" to be conflicting. "Losses" to the individual could not be interpreted as "benefits" to the economy, for the economy itself is developing for the good of man.

However, there is still a tendency to consider man as nothing but some kind of "labor resource," above all as a worker, rather than as a specific individual with his own aspirations, needs and concerns.

Following is a "worldly" letter we would like to quote: "You are asking people to express their thoughts on the subject of Academician Zaslavskaya's article. I found it interesting, in the spirit of the times.... The 'human factor' also includes people like me, who sacredly believed in the sanctity of the principle of distribution according to labor. I am 47 years old and my son is 18. I was awarded a silver medal on graduation and all institutes were open to me. At that time, however, the campaign of 'work after secondary school' was launched. Naturally, the Komsomol raykom turned to the secondary schools with its appeal, and we (not all of 'us,' naturally) went to work. I operated a machine tool for 3 years and my photograph was put on the board of honor. Then, once again I was summoned to the raykom: You, they said, are among the best production workers, active member of the Komsomol, etc. Briefly, you must become a leader in the deep countryside, and not go to school. If one must, one must. I went. In the past, teachers had seen in me a 'born educator.' They had said that I must go to an institute and absolutely return to the school as a teacher. I was to study for 5 years. After the fourth year, however, we were to take our state examinations and be assigned to Magadan Oblast, for there were no teachers there. I honestly taught the children in that area. There were dogs, reindeer, helicopters, livestock corrals and cold of 50 degrees below zero. It was necessary.

"It is thus that I spent my life. Educators for the SPTU had to work until midnight. No one else wanted to but I did. Someone had to go to a distant school where a ship would dock once every 10 days or which could be reached by air when the weather was good, and I went. If a local radio broadcasting system had to be properly organized, I did it; if the rayon Znaniye society had to be straightened out, I did it. I never sought a 'cozy' little place. I always went where I was sent first by the Komsomol and then by the party. Even my present place of work was suggested by the party raykom. I spent my entire life where I was needed, and was firmly convinced that I shall be rewarded according to my labor.... Now, when I am almost 50, I gained a tragic insight. It was my son who looked at my life. He is a very restrained person. Having found out that we still did not know how much longer we would be butting against each other in our 12-meter room in which, furthermore, we had to include my mother (in the latest allocation of housing, once again I was shoved aside), a bad expression appeared on his face and I heard him say: 'Mother, that is not the way to live your entire life. People like you are given social assignments while others, who are not 'fighters for the truth' get the apartments. Your life is a good lesson to me. I shall not live this way....' And how will he live? By dodging? By seeking a 'cozy' spot? By caring only for himself?..."

For understandable reasons we are not divulging the name of the author of this letter but we are citing it because this is not simply a story of a private life. It is a story of the way society loses a socially active person and also a person who is only at the start of his labor career, one of those who should assume the "burden" of restructuring. This becomes our common difficulty.

It is no accident that today the party pays prime attention to the strict observance of the basic principle of socialist justice: "From each according to his capabilities and to each according to his work." It is also no accident that the consideration of the theoretical aspects of this principle and the ways of its practical implementation become particularly significant.

It is a question, above all, of giving encouragement and comprehensive support to people who are making the most substantive contribution to social developments, dedicating to it their entire strength and capabilities. Naturally, here as well wages and the consistency between their size and the quality of labor play a role (we shall discuss housing separately). As we know, a great deal has already been and is being done in this respect but a great deal of work lies ahead. Naturally, the readers are not ignoring questions of systematic distribution according to labor. What is it that concerns them today?

"Are there objective laws for assessing the labor of one worker category or another? Why does a foreman earn less than a worker? Why does a department chief earn less than his subordinates? Why is it that young specialists, who graduate from the same school and in the same field but are assigned to different enterprises, earn different wages? People keep moving from one place to another, looking not for more interesting but for better paid work. This creates social stress...." "Historically, it has developed in such a way that basic differences in wage levels in our country are related not to individual differences in the quantity and quality of labor but to the sector in which a person works: encouraged, ordinary or neglected. Whether we like it or not, in our country wages have become 'stratified.' This circumstance is reinforced by the fact that numerous departments unrelated to material production also pay better wages: such wage increases are offered as departmental benefits or privileges. Under these circumstances, millions of people who like the present situation defend it and appeal to the history of the appearance of such benefits and privileges and to abstract principles of social justice which, allegedly, are eternal. One of them, for example, is the conviction shared by many people that the work of people employed in material production must mandatorily be paid better than those working in other areas. They fail to notice that 'shortcuts' have developed in the well-being of major socioprofessional groups, such as to hinder the normal functioning of the national economy. The supporters of such 'just' views are willing, at best, to accept a certain addition to the wages of those who are paid the worst, should this become possible. Overtly or covertly, many of them are opposing or will oppose any change in the situation according to which each ruble will have to be earned and when 80 percent of the wage will depend on end labor results" (from the letters of V. Kozlova, Leningrad, and Ye. Mikov, Khabarovsk).

As we can see, the restructuring of wages calls for a restructuring in the mind and in some economic and psychological concepts. For example, the trend of "equalization" and "floors" in setting wages and other monetary payments which we may think have been abolished, proved to be quite durable. Here are excerpts from a few letters: "The sooner the scientists find (under worker supervision) ways of applying the yardstick of 'pay according to the work' the sooner we shall see the enhancement of the human factor and the elimination of adverse trends and a decisive acceleration in our social and economic development."... "Big fees and other payments, even for outstanding results, must have their limit. They should not exceed the levels needed for the harmonious development of the individual. The existence of even a small stratum of people with excessively high salaries has a detrimental influence on the moral state of people employed in the same area but who have not achieved major creative results."... "True social justice in our country also demands a relative equalization of virtually all pensions, in order to exclude the effect of previous services...." (From the letters of Ye. Mukhin, and A. Shustov, Kostroma and A. Danchenkov, Ivanteyevka, Moscow Oblast).

Yes, in the first years of the life of our state the aspiration to eliminate social inequality influenced wages and led to a certain favoring of equalization. Life itself, however, indicated that it is possible to pay different wages for different types of work providing that equal opportunities are granted to all for obtaining an education, acquiring a skill, etc. This logic required at first to provide the necessary conditions and only then to organize distribution based on an interdependence between labor results and wages. Today we can say that the base for this has been created (although we note that, for example, in the different parts of the country and different settlements possibilities of developing human capabilities remain unequal and a great deal of work remains to be done in this area). The time has come to shift the emphasis in the distribution relations system. Unquestionably, this would lead to an increase in differences in wages and to a more efficient stimulation of highly skilled conscientious work. In this connection, the readers accurately emphasize the "exceptional importance of the element of differentiation in approaching the practical solution of some urgent problems. Obviously, this will entirely depend on our (essentially local) ability, objectivity, justice, etc." (from the letter of A. Voloshin, Yaroslavl).

Our authors who participated in the discussion of these problems (see KOMMUNIST, Nos 14, 15 and 17 for 1986), unanimously agree that today we need an efficient and flexible system for worker material incentive, which would inseparably link wages to their real contribution to public production, with no restrictions in the scale of their differentiation. One of the most important prerequisites for the development of such a system is the real participation of the working people themselves in handling socialist property, allocating resources and setting wage levels. The brigade-collective form of labor organization and wages, within the framework of a radical economic reform, drastic expansion of economic rights and economic responsibility for production in associations and enterprises must play an important role in this respect. The socialist state has adequate socioeconomic tools to prevent differentiation based on real differences in labor contribution, from creating a social stress. Labor income must stimulate the growth of public production and upgrade the efficiency of utilization of production resources. This is

the only base on which a high and stable increase in the living standard of the population as a whole can be achieved. It is precisely wages which provide the main economic incentive in the distribution system.

The seriousness, comprehensiveness and contradictoriness of this problem and the difficulty in solving it are understandable. Something else, however, is also obvious: Existing shortcomings in the implementation of the principle of material incentive cannot be surmounted with the help of partial and sporadic measures. In her article, T.I. Zaslavskaya raised the question of the need for a comprehensive reform in the wage system in the national economy and in retail prices of consumer goods and services, and in the mechanism for the distribution of benefits from public consumption funds. Therefore, yet another aspect of justice and efficiency appears: the use of public funds. It is precisely this question which is essentially raised in the letter we quoted at the beginning of this section in discussing the interconnection and reciprocal influence of economic efficiency and social justice.

What role do public consumption funds play or should play in this respect?

#### **Are We Losing Our Accomplishments?**

We have become accustomed to this concept to such an extent that we rarely consider whether the role, purpose and structure of public funds change as society develops. The considerations expressed in this connection by Academician T.I. Zaslavskaya triggered perhaps the greatest flood of letters, passionate and sometimes indignant. Directly opposite views were expressed. Following are views on the principles governing the distribution of paid and free benefits (naturally, we shall quote excerpts from a few letters only).

One viewpoint is the following: "Obviously, in order to enhance the human factor, free benefits must be based on labor contribution. Otherwise, the principle 'to each according to his work' will lose its meaning."... "We praise as the greatest achievement of socialism and as the greatest benefit the fact that our housing rents are the lowest in the world. We are even proud of this. Is this a benefit? Yes, it is. But it is a benefit only for those who live in state-owned apartments. The more than 9 billion rubles which the state annually spends on housing maintenance is a direct subsidy to population groups who live in these apartments. This is a redistribution of the budget in favor of one segment of the population at the expense of the labor of the entire society. Is this socially fair?"... "Public consumption funds should in no way serve the purpose of equalizing income, the purpose of equalization and a motivation to expect 'manna from heaven'."... "For the essence of the question is not who benefits or does not benefit from social justice. This involves a real tangle of economic paradoxes which test both our logic and our feelings. Above all, granting some 'free benefits,' albeit legitimate, occasionally involves a display of subservience and acting the role of a petitioner begging to receive one benefit or another. In some people this need may trigger a subjective feeling of protest and indignation. Benefits are greatly depreciated because of limitations in individual choices and possibilities of meeting needs consistent with the level of income and nature of individual inclinations. Generally speaking, I favor the system suggested by T.I. Zaslavskaya. We consider it natural, for example, to pay

more for a first-class stateroom on a ship than for second or third class. Would it not be logical to apply the same to payments for additional services and for quality, speed and rate to apply to buying housing and, in general, to all consumer goods?" (V. Skortsov, Ulyanovsk; P. Falko, Ulyanovsk; A. Teryayev, Tumanyanskiy Rayon, Armenian SSR; and V. Dementyev, Alma-Ata).

But here is another viewpoint: "I cannot agree with T. Zaslavskaya's suggestion of expanding the principle of paid services. Little could be added on this matter after the publication of the article by A. Bim and A. Shokhin (see KOMMUNIST, No 15, 1986) (other than expressing warm support for their ideas). To agree with Zaslavskaya's suggestions means to amend the USSR Constitution which guarantees free medical aid, inexpensive housing and free education. Yet all of these are objects of pride for socialism."... "T.I. Zaslavskaya claims that offering services, free or against payment, artificially limits the variety of goods which could be acquired by the population for money it has earned, which lowers the incentive for intensive and efficient work. Essentially, she advocates the elimination of public consumption funds. This viewpoint is theoretically wrong and practically harmful. With the development of the socialist economy society, as represented by the state, assumes an increasing share of the satisfaction of population requirements. It is no accident that public consumption funds are growing faster than wages. Free education, medical services and low housing costs are among the most important gains and advantages of socialism and their elimination would be wrong. Paying for education and medical services would adversely affect the quality of manpower which would inevitably lower the pace of economic growth. Introducing full payment for housing would be also inexpedient. This would reduce the real income of the broad population masses."... "When it is a question of increasing paid services in a society described as socialist, one should become cautious. Obviously, this conflicts specifically with the system of social relations under socialism. We must not increase the number of paid services but radically improve the work of health care, education, culture, housing construction, sanatorium services, recreation, etc. This calls for organizing the mechanism of distribution of public consumption funds. This entire system has been neglected in our country and is ruled by violations, abuses and irresponsibility."... "I agree that all benefits must be based on earned rubles exclusively, of equal value to all. There are four areas, however, in which public consumption funds are necessary: medical services, education, housing and natural disasters. These exceptions are the foundations of social justice and its humaneness. However, they too must be applied skillfully: If one is a good student he should get a scholarship; if one works conscientiously he should be given an apartment sooner" (from the letters of K. Davydov, Smolensk; M. Mikhaylovskiy, Orenburg; A. Kireyev, Moscow; and P. Belikov, Sumy).

So, where is the truth? It seems to us that at this point it would be unsuitable simply to pit one concept against the other, for both reflect the real situation. Yes, public consumption funds are indeed our major accomplishment and we can be proud of them. However, tremendous changes have occurred after decades of our development. We ourselves have changed, and so have our way of life, level of income, requirements and needs. A situation is developing in which the forms of utilization of public consumption funds as they are, are beginning somewhat to "undermine" the principle of distribution

according to labor, as is justifiably emphasized in the letters. Nevertheless, they contain principles which enable us to implement what is either difficult or impossible to solve through distribution according to labor (the most obvious being caring for the sick, the pensioners, etc.).

Initially, public consumption funds were considered the basic means of evening up economic inequality in the consumption area, which is inevitable under socialism as well. However, as the living standard of the population improved, they began to lose this function as a leading factor. What then assumes priority, and where do they go from here?...

Should such a complex problem be discussed (the more so since no unanimous opinion prevails among scientists in this connection)? In our view, it should. As we read the conflicting mail to the editors and as we compare the various viewpoints, we clearly realize that this problem cannot be solved with a single radical suggestion or a simple rejection of a countersuggestion. We believe that our readers as well are beginning to realize this more clearly. Major theoretical studies, practical analyses and psychological research are needed. We also need a substantive debate, a discussion in the course of which, as we know, the truth will come out.

Meanwhile, the impression develops that for a number of years we have become unaccustomed to this. In any case, this is the conclusion reached after reading a significant percentage of responses to yet another debatable stipulation formulated in T.I. Zaslavskaya's article, on distribution and revision of retail prices. In this case the readers are equally clearly divided into those who are for and against. What do those who are for say? "The problem of creating a single consumer market throughout the country, and ensuring the equal purchasing power of the ruble for all population groups and a rough consistency between the prices of consumer goods and their social value is a problem which has become quite pressing and urgent," writes, for example, P. Kirillov, a teacher from Tula. "Another urgent problem is that of eliminating state subsidies of meat and dairy products by increasing the retail prices of these products and thus making them relatively consistent with production costs and social value. This would not lower in the least the real income of the country's population but eliminate the material foundations for a very widespread form of unearned income for smart operators in the so-called shady economy--speculators and middlemen and all those who have access to scarce goods, including meat and dairy products sold at state prices."

What are the arguments of those who are against? "A revision of retail prices of meat and dairy products is needed. However, selling them on the basis of their social value, as the author suggests, could lower the living standard of workers and employees," notes, among others, Candidate of Historical Sciences S. Gushchin from Yaroslavl. "The point is that in rural areas, small towns and many large cities commercial operations are carried out not only by the consumer cooperative but also on the private market, where prices of meat and dairy products are frequently more than double those of the state. Selling such goods on the basis of their social value under the conditions of a nationwide scarcity of such products could drastically increase private and cooperative retail prices, which would adversely affect family budgets of urban residents, particularly the minimal ones."

These are major arguments which, unquestionably, must be considered closely. Naturally, many such letters with arguments have been received and so have analytical materials on the mechanism itself used in price setting, methodological recommendations and specific suggestions.

Nevertheless, most letters on this topic are of a different nature. "Not only I, but all my acquaintances, many of whom are Patriotic War veterans, members of the CPSU and bearers of many governmental orders, felt a deep indignation at the suggestion made by Academician T. Zaslavskaya," writes, for example, Candidate of Economic Sciences G. Alperovich, from Rostov-na-Donu. "We must instill order and not catch up with production costs through prices," recommends G. Shevchenko, from Kamenets-Podolskiy. "Raising prices, even with salary compensations is not our socialist way. Stable retail prices of staple commodities is our great accomplishment. We have proudly mentioned this for many years and we should not, in one fell swoop, strike out the good and humane benefits we have inherited from past decades. Naturally, problems must be solved but not by taking the easiest way out which, I am convinced, will eventually prove to be wrong!" claims A. Kondrashov in Moscow.

But why "in one fell swoop," and why "in the easiest possible way?" We have submitted for discussion an extremely complex problem in which it is important to take into consideration economic, social and political aspects in their interconnection. It is important to compare various viewpoints of consumers and specialists and to study the experience of other socialist countries. (See KOMMUNIST, No 18, 1986). This is not a question of instant solutions but of formulating a comprehensive long-term program, one of the aspects of which will be the question of prices. It is in this area that work is currently being done by members of scientific and other institutions. We are pleased that under the changed circumstances, the circumstances of restructuring and openness, the formulation of various social plans for the organization for society on a different scale could take place as it should take place: through scientific interpretation and democratic discussion.

We thank all those who responded to the request of the editors to participate in the discussion of understudied and debatable problems related to the human factor and social justice. The letters, articles and considerations of the readers indicate the great public interest in acquiring a deeper understanding and ensuring the real solution of such problems. The discussion revealed most clearly, once again, the urgent need for social scientists to address themselves to real problems and contradictions in our life, and the close connection between theory and practice. It also confirmed that a profound scientific study must take into consideration broad public opinion and rely on it. It is only thus that we shall be able to operate under the conditions of restructuring. Therefore, we intend to continue to pay most serious attention to this topic in the journal, particularly in the light of the resolutions of the January 1987 CPSU Central Committee Plenum.

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## PEOPLE'S GENIUS: SESQUICENTENNIAL OF A.S. PUSHKIN'S DEATH

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[Article by Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Vishnevskiy, publicist]

[Text] The date was 29 Jan 1837, 2:45 PM. Pushkin died from a mortal wound received at a duel. By the modern calendar, the day was 10 Feb. It was a sad event in Russian history.

Pushkin was not one of those doomed by fate to play the role of helpless victim of inimical circumstances. His contemporaries were confused by his resolve. One of them wrote that the poet "like Dantes sought either death or a settling of account with all wordly society." It was not true that he sought death; the stakes were considerably higher than his contemporaries thought. The baseness and intrigues of enemies could not explain the real reasons for the tragic and inevitable outcome. The path of the great poet came to an end and in its merciless language history expressed the entire irreconcilability of the conflict which left its mark on Pushkin's life. The social conditions of that distant period were fiercely and antagonistically pitted against the infinite spiritual potential of Pushkin's genius.

The poet's works, whether praised or denigrated during his lifetime, were not understood in his century to the extent of their true significance. This became entirely possible only with the advent of the socialist age. Pushkin's legacy is the spiritual property of the whole nation. His character features, which are valuable to our age, are truth, conscience, honor, dignity of the individual, justice, selflessness, artistic loyalty to the truth of life, humaneness, feelings of nationality, accessibility to people and deep and genuine democratism.

We know since Belinskiy that Pushkin was above all an artist, a poet-artist: Through his entire genius of poetry and thoughts, creativity and life, he represented art as such. However, in Pushkin artistic and social features were indivisibly and organically linked as confirmed by each line in his poetry and prose. This applies to national and universal features equally. In his feelings happiness and sadness are balanced, never turning into blind enthusiasm, despair or bitterness. With all his courage and fearlessness in his work and life, the poet never betrayed his classical artistic measure and wise objectivity. In Pushkin the artistic principle is inseparable from the

intellectual one. Thought and words and the act of art and the act of the awareness of art by the artist coincide, reciprocally illuminating each other, giving Pushkin's genius a harmonious combination of artistic with intellectual power. His thought never appears as a chain of abstract concepts, in a speculative form alienated from life. They become obvious from his artistic attitude toward the world around him, the course of history and contemporary reality.

Pushkin's creative thinking is profoundly dialectical. This striking feature of his spirituality is invariably the consequence of a direct brilliant comprehension of reality. However rich or dialectical the thinking of the poet may be, it invariably finds the simplest, most natural and most refined form of expression. Everything in it is ideally precise and simple, free from meaningless pontification and presented in brief, impeccable, necessary and irreplaceable words. Pushkin's mind instills infinite trust. Here there is nothing unnecessary or bombastic. The poet is satisfied with simple natural words. In defining the realistic nature of his own art, two words suffice: poetry of reality. This strict and restrained formula should not mislead us, for in his case they mean a superior criterion of artistic truth.

At this point we enter the area of prime understanding of Pushkin's aesthetic views. They include an understanding of life to which the poet kept turning in considering the artist's work. If a work "has no life, i.e., truth," to Pushkin it also lacks artistic value and in his eyes does not reach the level of art. "The main thing in art is truth." And truth is only that which is "simple, sincere and noble." On the eve of the duel, Pushkin wrote to one of his correspondents: "A genius can discover the truth immediately and truth is stronger than the tsar, the Bible says." This conclusion becomes even more noteworthy considering that no such words are found in the Bible: they are the intimate thoughts of the author. Truth is Pushkin's final word when it comes to life and creativity. It is an ideal reflex of reality, a criterion of artistry, a focus of refraction of historical necessity and folk interests, reflected in Pushkin's creative mirror.

Gogol said wise and profound words on the outstanding properties of this mirror. It includes everything: truth, measure, and completeness. According to Gogol, Pushkin's vocation is a national vocation: "Pushkin is an extraordinary phenomenon, perhaps a unique phenomenon of the Russian spirit: it is the Russian man in his development, in what he will become perhaps in 200 years. He embodies Russian nature, soul, language and character.... This could hardly be said about any other poet who, in a short play, could include such greatness.... We find here everything: enjoyment, simplicity, instant loftiness of the mind.... Each word is an infinite space; each word is as infinite as the poet."

The place of the poet in the world and his human mission are the central problem in Pushkin's creative self-awareness. The image of the poet, as presented by Pushkin in a number of splendid and intimate poems is complex and eternally conflicting. The poet is a prophet, the voice of superior objectiveness, of reality and of the truth he presents to the people. At the same time, however, a poet is an artist who does not recognize any power over

himself other than artistic perfection and no restrictions other than the inviolable demands of moral law.

The prophet-poet has the gift of a "great power over the minds," Pushkin says. In his famous poem "The Prophet," the poet is called upon to fire up the human heart. In the equally famous poem "Monument," he glorifies the "nonman-made" (truly perfect and objectively accurate) works of lofty art of humanity and freedom, immortalized in the memory of the people of a "cruel century." In the image of the poet, Pushkin judges art with the lofty criterion of his exigent consciousness and self-awareness as an artist, which is the true reflection of the people's ideals of truth, beauty and justice, which give life to his inspiration. The objective meaning of pictures of the world, which fills the splendid forms of poetry, is frequently expressed by Pushkin through concepts such as "divine order" and "divine word." The critics of that period were deeply wrong when they sought in these and other similar expressions used by the poet any religious aspects in his outlook. In Pushkin a symbolic Biblical form is a feature of the real world, with its truly rich coloring and indomitable artistic will.

Two aspects of the poet's mission are expressed in the graphic world of Pushkin's poetry. They are conflicting, although dialectically linked in the way that the lofty artistic principle is harmoniously combined within Pushkin with a progressive sociomoral stance, neither denying nor suppressing it. Nevertheless, their contradictoriness has frequently provided grounds for prejudiced and even nihilistic interpretations. In frequent cases the critics were wrong by assuming that the great poet was two-faced in his works and his life and that he considered acceptable two mutually exclusive and incompatible views. This error led to a superficial view which failed to penetrate the depth of Pushkin's mind and artistic solutions.

In reality, the poet, as described by Pushkin, is not divided into artist and person. As a prophet, he is the bearer of the objective power of art; as an artist, he is the bearer of the highest human freedom which is by no means arbitrary. A position of inflexible independence in art is neither the whim nor the weakness of the poet. How else could he, surrounded by a hostile world, defend the freedom of his creative toil and the simple possibility of its existence? Only at the cost of a heroic personal independence and inner freedom can the poetry created by the force of the unconquerable spirit of the artist become the permanent gain of those who are aware of beauty. To him this poetry is the ultimate, because it is also the ultimate of others, of those who need it.

In Pushkin's view, the stance held by the poet in facing the people did not give grounds for an erroneous understanding and prejudiced interpretation.

Both the poet-prophet and the poet-artist invariably appear in his works in the light of the attitude toward the people, in blending with or comparing himself to them. Pushkin stands on the people's viewpoint and the only interpretation of his key topic is that of the role and place of the poet in the world. However, in Pushkin's language the concepts of "people" and "popular" are not always equal in the sense in which these words are being used today. The poet describes as "popular" the path which leads the people

to creativity and proudly proclaims the national nature of his own works. Here and in many other cases Pushkin speaks of the "people" and of what is "popular" in today's understanding of the word. Occasionally, however, he describes as "popular" that which is the "crowd's." The antithesis of such concepts encompass within a single word greatly hindered the understanding of Pushkin's position in the past, as confirmed by the history of Russian artistic criticism. Hence the puzzlement and the variety of interpretations which have long paralleled the glory of Russia's leading poet.

In whatever fashion Pushkin may have described the subject of his works in the atmosphere which surrounded him, and however he may have described it in the free language of poetry, his highest instance is the mind, the crystal-pure mind, with no confusion, to which even the hint of any vulgar antipeople's prejudices is alien, prejudices from which Pushkin, with his highly democratic feelings, was entirely free. The hostile crowd rejected by the poet excludes the real people, to whom the poet is "pleasant;" it excludes the "honest simple people" with whom Pushkin profoundly sympathized and which he infinitely trusted.

Pushkin's angry accusations of the crowd are addressed, in all cases, to the bearers of base views, philistine complacency and the mercantile morality of that human "middle status" which was appearing in the world with the advent of the new "European" (bourgeois) civilization and was showing up in Russia. Naturally, this "crowd" was broader than what was meant by the term "refined mob," although Pushkin frequently included it within this mob. This mob also included the bearers of philistine arrogance, who were prepared, with complacent tolerance, to listen to the poet's "daring lessons," in the hope that he himself would accept their own servile morality.

True poetry, Pushkin believed, which aspires to artistic maturity, speaks the language of deep feelings and thoughts, the language of the "honest simple people." It would be impossible to find a better argument than this thought expressed by the great poet, in favor of the truly national nature of his art and the conscious national spirit of his aesthetic aspirations.

How to write poetry and prose in the Russian language? How to make the language of the Russian people a voice of global artistic culture? Pushkin deliberately set these questions as his own creative tasks the moment he reached his poetic maturity. The year he began his work on "Eugene Onegin" he wrote in his notes: "It is only a revolutionary such as Mirabeau and Peter, who can love Russia the way only a writer can love its language. Everything must be done in that same Russia and in that Russian language."

The poet honored this pledge a hundred times over: One of the highest accomplishments of his brilliant mind is laying the unbreakable foundations of contemporary Russian literary language. He saw in the language of his people the real roots and grounds for poetic art and learned this unparalleled language through his artistic interpretation of folklore. The classical examples of folk art were converted into Pushkin's tales, unique in terms of their national originality. He believed that the great artists, such as Shakespeare, Calderon, Moliere, Goethe and other geniuses possessed the "dignity of a great nationality." In his view, this could not be reduced to

the national characteristics of each one of them or to a content limited by the horizon of folk traditions and ideals of any given nation. "A great nationality" has a universal historical content: In its superior stages of development, spiritual creativity offers it to its own nation and to all nations in the world, making it the common cultural possession of mankind.

The idea of nationality in art and the objective need for human history were definitively mastered by Pushkin during the period of his Mikhaylovo exile, in his work on "Boris Godunov." In that period of his life he wrote to one of his correspondents: "...My spiritual forces have reached their full development and I am able to create."

In previous years Pushkin had experienced and crossed a turning point in his spiritual development when, in his own words, the contradictions of reality triggered doubts and rejections in a soul not hardened by the experience of life. For a while the genius of rejection had dominated the mind of the poet and exerted its painful although brief power. It left no place for better although unrealistic hopes and for "poetic prejudices" which did not agree with "what is" (i.e., with real relations in a real world). A spirit of negation--a source of bitter disappointments and exaggerated assessments--poisoned his faith in people and in freedom, friendship and glory which had inspired Pushkin after his graduation from the lyceum and which was expressed so strongly in his poems from the south. However, this negation did not totally dominate the poet: It had no power over truth and beauty, and was helpless in the face of the truth of life. Had this not occurred, in the final account could it have brought about the "negation of the negation"--a spiritual resurrection blending with new sources of poetry, as had been the case of Mikhaylovskiy).

Pushkin's entire cycle of poems written in 1823-1824 is imbued with a tragic awareness of the illusory and premature nature of the liberation and revolutionary reliance on enslaved serfdom Russia. His prophetic genius allowed him to understand the harsh outcome of the situation long before the defeat of the 14 December uprising. Two years before these tragic events he realized that a conversion was needed from the "hopes and pleasures" of freedom to an understanding of the inevitable conditions of "reality." This feeling, on which a profound reassessment of practical experience was based, did not mean in the least any betrayal of the ideals of freedom of his youth. Actually, it was a life-bringing, a spiritual stimulation for the idea of historicism as a necessary foundation for Pushkin's progressive views which he developed in the post-December period.

As a principle on which an outlook is based, historicism provided the spiritual grounds on which the poet's classical works appeared. His artistic awareness assumed new qualities: depth of thought as a statesman, a spirit of lofty patriotism, the wisdom of a historian, and mastery of the laws of dramatic art. The poet expressed the nature of tragedy through the immortal formula: "man and people. The fate of a man is the fate of a nation." The truth of passion and honesty of feelings under the proposed circumstances became the criteria of the realistic content of his works.

Pushkin described "Boris Godunov" as a "truly romantic" tragedy, a definition which expressed his view on the general meaning and nature of lofty (classical) poetry of the new times. The "free course of romantic poetry" was inherent, he thought, most of all in Shakespeare but also in the works of Dante, the poets of the Italian Renaissance, the geniuses of the Spanish "golden age" and the "great age" of French literature. Pushkin did not identify lofty romanticism with Byron or the fashionable French romantic school with its rebellion against the pseudo-classicists. He laughed when someone identified romanticism with Lamartine.

Since adolescence, his early spiritual maturity enabled him to stay close to the great artistic traditions of the past and the present. The horizon of global history was wide open to his penetrating eyes. He sympathized with the traditions of liberation of the Enlightenment but his thoughts and works were totally aimed at the stormy battles of the new century.

Voltaire, Shakespeare and Byron entranced him but no single powerful influence was able to fetter his spiritual freedom and artistic independence. Pushkin's genius gained its true classical expression in the outright rejection of all and any influences, prejudices and sentimentalities of the past and illusions of modern romanticism. At an early age he mastered a dialectical outlook on the achievements of the spiritual creativity of mankind as being the results of an ascending progress with possible ups and downs. Ignoring the traditional system of pitting the classical against the romantic, he understood the dialectics of their historical alternating. He sensed that same dialectics in the changes in artistic forms between the past and the present, the continuity of their development and alternating gains and losses.

For a long time, Pushkin's views on modern art as highly romantic was not exclusive in European thinking by the turn of the 19th century, a period rich in new ideas. Pushkin's view may be compared to Hegel's theory on replacing classical (ancient) art with romantic art in the spiritual history of mankind. Like Hegel's, Pushkin's view has nothing in common with pitting realistic against romantic principles in art, which became common in the positivistic aesthetics of latter periods and is extant to this day. On the contrary, Pushkin's true romanticism, the criteria which he applied to his own tragedy, could be translated into modern speech as artistic realism in the general philosophical meaning of the term: In Pushkin's understanding, true romanticism meant nothing other than the expression of objective truth in art. In any case, his view silently presumes that the only place of his tragedies and other poetic works in the spiritual home of mankind is among the works of modern poetry, the superior model of which he saw in Shakespeare. It was precisely this type of art that he saw as truly romantic.

Pushkin had greater internal freedom from spiritual restrictions imposed by the society in which some of the geniuses of the past had to work and live. The poet countered the historical hardships of his status in Nicholas' Russia with the clear awareness of his own great vocation and inflexible firmness, surrendering nothing which could harm the supreme value of the individual: independence and responsibility for his own way of thinking and acting. He was almost unique in his generation to display the greatest possible courage

and spiritual strength which enabled him to endure the despotism of autocracy with his head held high, remaining true to himself to the very end.

During his southern exile he had already developed a certain view on the nature of the historical position of the poet in Russia in the period of declining nobility. This clearly revealed the hatred felt by the opposition nobility of autocracy. This was the mandatory motif of the freedom-loving, civic-minded and antityranny poetry which Pushkin wrote during his young years. To the end of his life it remained inseparable from the progressive, the liberating poet's social views and his truly national stance.

Pushkin's views blended with the main motifs of his patriotism: pride in the glory of his ancestors and respect for the past of the homeland and for the greatness of its people. To Pushkin history meant the memory of the people which develops in a person perspicacity, a spirit of true patriotism, independence and love of freedom. As an artist and historian, he watched over the national cultural tradition and the valuable spiritual possessions of the people. It is indicative that even the idea of the role of the ancient nobility in Russia--a kind of Pushkin's theoretical utopia--he approached exclusively from the people's viewpoint.

As a humanist and free thinker, naturally, Pushkin by no means tended to consider the ideas of a class as superior to moral and historical standards. "Naturally, there are qualities which are higher than the nobility of a family, one of which is personal dignity.... The names of Minin and Lomonosov will outweigh perhaps all of our ancient family names," he believed.

As the best, most intelligent and purest representative of progressive Russian culture, Pushkin was suspected and hated by the nobility surrounding the imperial throne, acting as the bulwark of the monarchy and serfdom. It was this conflict that became the hidden spring of the poet's tragic death. The serf owners and courtiers saw in him the proud and freedom-loving opponent of palace and Third Department despotism--the higher echelons of police-autocratic power. However, facing the poet was yet another enemy: bourgeoisie's civilization in the narrow and primitive aspect it was acquiring then in Russia, and which he despised.

It was in the features of this spiritual system that the poet saw the distorted Russian manifestation of philistinism and bourgeoisie which dominated Europe since the French Revolution and Napoleon. Pushkin firmly disagreed with the spirit of these historical changes. The views of some commentators who enjoyed credibility in our Pushkin studies in the 1930's notwithstanding, the poet had never adopted nor could adopt as his own the principle of European liberalism, which prevailed during the period of the establishment of bourgeois relations under the Restoration and the July monarchy in France and, earlier, in England. In his view, there was too much hypocrisy and too little democracy in such principles.

On Russian soil, in the literary battles of his age, Pushkin exposed philistinism and mercantilism in modern journalism, servility and subservience, the zeal of loyalty, police investigations and denunciations. This aspect of activities of the great poet is less well known but quite

important in understanding his historical views. In his journalism, Pushkin openly fought the pressure of commercial journalism which was energetically developing under the benevolent eyes of the government, under the shade of the principles of "autocracy, orthodoxy and nationality" of Nicholas' monarchy.

Vulgar criticism prevailed not only in the writings of Bulgarin, the police slanderer but also in the works of the publishing enterprises of literary workers such as Grech, Kachenovskiy, Nadezhdin and Polevoy, or the smart journalistic operator Senkovskiy. Pushkin's polemics against this "crowd" and "mob" gained a historical target and provided symbolic prototypes of the "blind," "cruel" and "iron" century which angered the poet's awareness and conscience. Hurt by his independent views, the Pushkin haters in the philistine camp attacked the poet and his friends, labeling them "literary aristocrats." All means were used to this effect: pamphlets, libels and denunciations. By striking at the "literary aristocracy" efforts were made to strike at the gentry's culture and revolutionism in Russia, well aware of the fact that ever since 14 December, Emperor Nicholas feared educated free thought and a new secret conspiracy more than a popular rebellion.

It was thus that at a late historical hour, virtually alone, in a small circle of like-minded people, Pushkin assumed the burden of the struggle against the old and new evils. In that sense, he shared the fate of many of our best philosophers and artists of the past who, like him, had risen high above their time in their spiritual life, finding themselves at the crossroads of historical ages and, anticipating the future, were particularly aware of the contradictions of their own time. The peculiarity and complexity of the poet's historical views at the turning point between two ages could not fail to affect his views. Social views and judgments on Russia's historical progress could be seen not only in Pushkin's progressive ideas of freedom and popular ideals. They included some illusions and errors of this great mind. One way or another, the latter were inevitable for its age and should be considered insignificant. From the very beginning the spiritual image of the greatest Russian poet was dominated by the features of a genius who could achieve and understand everything, incorruptible and truthful, and marked by a total clarity of the world and the individual.

The calamitous situation of the enslaved people and the situation of the peasantry--the bulk of the nation--constantly occupied the mind and imagination of the poet. He was attracted by the characters of simple people and popular leaders, folk dances and legends, and entire layers of history related to peasant uprisings and wars of the times of Razin and Pugachev. The poet's penetrating view of the moral strength and dignity of the Russian peasant did not prevent him from realizing the entire extent of the gravity of his situation under the yoke of serfdom. Nonetheless, from the beginning to the end of his life, Pushkin had nothing in common with what some of his previous interpreters had ascribed to him: reliance on a peasant revolution in Russia as the way to meeting its historical destinies. Pushkin's profound mind could detect the real changes in reality and in the global situation, unnoticed by less sharp observers. He could see the calamities caused by Russia's serfdom system. However, he could also see the calamities of the new, capitalist civilization in Europe and the tyranny of bourgeois democracy in North America. Pushkin was the first person in Russia to consider such

relations with a truly accurate understanding of actual historical circumstances, with no embellishments or self-deception.

The mind of the poet was addressed to the future, to the ideals of human greatness and the true freedom worthy of man. It did not need any declarations but aspired toward the essence of the matter.

The ideal of freedom was an intrinsic feature of the artist and the person. Pushkin did not pit the ideal of social stability and firm order in human affairs, based on the principles of the law, against conscience and honor. This is what his poem "Angelo" is all about. The great artists of the past, the geniuses of spiritual creativity of all times, have aspired toward a firm social order, indivisible from firm humane authority and a just and sensible freedom of human development. They sensed the need for the type of community life free from contradictions between the individual and the clan, order and freedom, man and nature, and society and man. Pushkin was not alone in this respect. He shared such premonitions, which were quite different from the real situation, with other great minds, from Shakespeare to Rembrandt and from Mozart to Goethe.... They bequeathed to the unknown future their idea of a better, a more just life, and their own faith, each one in his own way, and to the extent of his genius. None of them knew when, how and in which way could such objectives be attained in the course of man's progress. Nor did Pushkin, who left unanswered the bothersome question: "Stability is the first prerequisite for social well-being. How does it agree with continuous improvements?"

The history of the poet's spiritual trials and the efforts he made to fight hostile circumstances, countering insults and losses with inspired creative toil, highlight the dramatic picture of his fight for artistic and political independence and against the autocratic yoke which fettered his life.

Each step in the persecution of the poet by the tsarist authorities: his exile to the south, his supervised isolation in his northern family estate, the tragic outcome of the Decembrist movement, which affected Pushkin closely, and the conditions under which the new tsar revoked his exile--the entire drama of his life was unable to crush the poet's powerful creative spirit. Inflexible in the trials brought by fate, he triumphed over them thanks to his unique spiritual potential and power of resistance of his character, mental strength and creative talent. His genius acquired its final shape while in exile; the harsh circumstances of his life were unable to hinder the artist's creative plans despite all obstacles created by the authorities.

The last decade in Pushkin's life was a tragic period in his vicissitudes and trials: the oppression of censorship, police investigations, secret surveillance, denigrating arguments with Benkendorf, denial of the right to travel inside Russia and abroad, Bulgarin's denunciations, the hated title of Kamer-Junker, the opening of correspondence with his family, the base intrigues of Uvarov, the minister of education, lack of money, and the difficult start of SOVREMENNIK.... Duel and death lay ahead.... However, this same decade included two Boldino autumns, the completion of "Eugene Onegin," "Poltava" and "Copper Knight," his "small tragedies," new cycles of poems, and all of his narrative and historical prose. It was a time of

superior creative accomplishment, reaching the peak of national self-awareness for the poet as a historian and an artist, as a unique genius of his people. Can we separate in Pushkin's fate the great popular poet from the man who did not bow to the trials which were inevitable in his position and which were killing him in life but which raised his creativity to world heights?

Arbitrary censorship unbearably suppressed the poet's literary activities. However, what could it do against Pushkin? Could we say that any completed work by the great poet was written as it was for external reasons, to meet the requirements of the censorship or someone else's taste, rather than as a manifestation of the free will of the artist, consistent with his criteria of perfection? The tsar--the supreme censor--was displeased by some parts of "Copper Knight." Pushkin's answer was a refusal to publish his work, bequeathing to the future the poem as he had written it.

No external forces could force Pushkin to betray himself. Whatever forms his confrontation with the hostile forces in the political, moral and literary areas could assume, the poet's views were based on the broader conflict with reality--the real domination and oppression, the uncontrolled cruelty of the national and global development of affairs which was inconsistent with Pushkin's humane postulates and prophetic artistic solutions which were directed to us, the mankind of the future. The great poet turned to us, to the future, above all as an artist. His works are a unique example of the perfect blend of high art with splendid simplicity and nationality--the ideal of art which has always been alive in the mind of progressive mankind.

During the poet's lifetime he was already beginning to be considered a national genius, national in the supreme historical meaning, although in his time this could be understood only by a few lofty minds. Today, 150 years later, a twin process is taking place in front of us: the perception of Pushkin as a popular artistic genius is becoming infinitely greater in social awareness; our concepts of Pushkin in the sense of the creations of his creative spirit and the national ideals of the socialist age are increasingly becoming as one. After the October Revolution, as K. Tsetkin recalls, the leader of the revolution expressed the idea of a "true and great" art to which the people were entitled and which belonged to them. In Lenin's view this had to "combine the feelings, thoughts and will" of the people's masses, develop them and "awaken the artist in them." Life itself has made these words part of Pushkin's immortal art. In an age of profound revolutionary renovation experienced by the country, increasingly the powerful impetus of history brings us closer to the splendid ideas and images of the great poet, his pure behests, conscience, beauty and truth, in their permanent, deeply national and universal significance.

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SED ECONOMIC STRATEGY (THE JOURNAL EINHEIT ON THE PAGES OF KOMMUNIST)

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[Text] The economic strategy of the SED, which was adopted at the 11th Party Congress in April 1986, expresses the concept of development of the national economy of the GDR through intensification, aimed at the further growth of the economic and social power of socialism and ensuring the even more convincing proof of its superiority over capitalism. The extension of the course of unity between economic and social policy is ascribed a decisive significance in this concept. The socialist economy is not a self-seeking aim but a means of upgrading the material and cultural standards of the people. This unity is the core of economic strategy and the main sector in the party's struggle.

The interaction between economic achievements and social gains triggers the powerful progress of economic forces. The line of unity between economic and social policy was formulated at the 8th SED Congress in 1971. As comrade Erich Honecker pointed out at the 3rd SED Central Committee Plenum in November 1986, "for more than 15 years it is this course that has governed our progress. The dynamic growth of production and its efficiency are paralleled by full employment, increasing prosperity, a general high level of education and the blossoming of science and culture. In the years to come, this will increasingly determine the aspect of our socialist German Democratic Republic." Between 1971 and 1985 the national income increased by 99 percent, i.e., it nearly doubled. Within the same period a total of 2.4 million apartments were built or updated, thus radically improving the living conditions of more than 7 million citizens.

This policy is beneficially influencing social progress. Delegates to the latest Central Committee plenum pointed out that in the spirit of the SED program and in accordance with specific historical circumstances, the GDR is pursuing the building of a developed socialist society. Thanks to the great creative efforts of the people, our republic is moving ahead as a modern industrial state with powerful agriculture and a highly developed educational system. It has a flexible and well-organized planned socialist economy, the backbone of which are the combines. As a result, a turn to extensive

production intensification has been made and a process of its deep renovation has been undertaken. It is on this basis that further dynamic upsurge in the national economy will be attained. Its main guidelines are earmarked in SED economic strategy for the period until the year 2000.

A major step in its implementation is the 1986-1990 five-year plan. It calls for increasing the national income by 25 percent and net industrial output by 50 percent. The working people in the republic will obtain more than one million additional apartments. Great efforts are being made to ensure the further increase in results in all economic areas, to improve the educational system, to promote the extensive development of culture and science, to improve medical services for the population and to strengthen the healthy way of life of the people. The production of consumer goods is being increased. This will increase the availability of commodities on the market. The latter is particularly necessary, for the income of the population is raising; furthermore, it contributes to the more efficient implementation of the socialist principle of payment according to labor.

SED economic strategy is a result of the creative application of Marxism-Leninism by our party to the historical conditions governing GDR development and the exercise of its leading role on the basis of the scientific analysis of the tasks related to social progress.

The SED economic strategy until the year 2000 has ten main areas. They are centered on the task of ensuring even more efficiently the combination of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism. Closely related to them is the requirement of accelerating the growth rates of labor productivity and ensuring an increase in output while, at the same time, reducing specific raw material, material and power outlays. This means, above all, the more thorough processing of energy carriers and raw materials, i.e., obtaining higher consumer value and a greater increase in value per unit of material used. The economic strategy also includes the task of producing only high quality goods consistent with world standards on the scale of the national economy. In order to ensure a parallel reduction of outlays and improvements in the working and living conditions of the people and achieving high production efficiency, an important role has been ascribed to socialist rationalization. This drastically increases requirements concerning the policy of investments. In particular, an increased share of capital investments used for production rationalization is planned for the processing industry. The task of significantly increasing the production of consumer goods, which must become the concern of the entire national economy, is being formulated. As a whole, SED economic strategy is oriented toward the steady and dynamic growth of the country's economic potential. This is necessitated by sociopolitical objectives and the need to enhance the material and cultural standards of the people. Such economic growth can be achieved only on the basis of major intensification.

By reducing economic strategy to the main aspects on which it is based, i.e., intensification, it becomes obvious that its development was not a one-time pragmatic reaction to changing reproduction conditions and, particularly, to manpower and resource scarcity. It reflects the objective process of dynamics of the socialist economy, for which reason it is a long-term concept, as a

brief look at history would show. In 1971, in addition to determining the main task, which characterized the unity between economic and social policy, the 8th SED Congress formulated a course of intensification as the basic means of economic growth. The 9th SED Congress of 1976, which adopted a program for further building a developed socialist society in the GDR, emphasized the ten principal points." In 1981, the 10th Congress formulated the economic strategy for the 1980s, while the 11th Congress, continuing the effort in the same area, approved the economic strategy for the period until the year 2000.

Therefore, the question of a long-term economic strategy was not raised for the first time at the 11th SED Congress. The formulation of this strategy took a substantial amount of time. The congress' resolutions are based on the study of proven practical experience. Its key conclusion is that a turn to intensification was made precisely in the course of the implementation of the economic strategy.

Let us point out in this connection that the development of our national economy between 1981 and 1985 was determined to a decisive extent by the process of intensification. More than 90 percent of the growth of the national income was the result of higher labor productivity. Within that period, specific outlays of power, raw materials and materials declined by an average of 5.3 percent annually. The average equipment load increased from 13.9 to 16 hours per day in the processing industry; 40 percent of the increased national income was achieved by lowering production costs, i.e., by lowering outlays of power, and raw and other materials and as a result of the better utilization of equipment. Consequently, success was based on labor and material conservation. The accuracy of the strategic concept based on intensification was thus justified.

It was all of this that determined the further elaboration of economic strategy at the 11th Party Congress. The planned tasks are based on the positive experience of the past without, however, being limited to them. Based on achieved results and the requirements which will arise in the future, the congress formulated qualitatively new far-reaching conclusions. The SED is guided by the principle of anticipating development trends, above all in the economy, and reacting to them promptly. The decisions made by the party were precisely an answer to the urgent need of ensuring the growth of the national economy on the basis of intensification. Thus, in formulating the strategy for the period until the year 2000 under the conditions of the initiated turn toward intensification, the only possible conclusion was that it was necessary to concentrate the efforts on making intensification in the economy all-embracing and organizing it on a firm basis.

All of this calls for seeking new solutions and finding nontraditional possibilities for growth rather than resting on accomplishments. In the future as well, growth will be based on internal reserves within the reproduction process itself, without increases in manpower or power and material outlays. The significance and scale of this task become particularly impressive if we consider that not only the growth but the entire volume of output must be secured through intensification.

Economic intensification is not a one-time act limited to a certain period of time but a basic task. From this viewpoint, the question of sources for the steadily intensifying expanded reproduction process assumes exceptional importance. Such sources depend on the level of development of the national economy as a whole, the functioning of the overall social organism and the process of dialectical interaction between production forces and production relations.

In this connection, the first item in the economic strategy, i.e., the demand for a more efficient combination of the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism, assumes a comprehensive significance. It is particularly important to emphasize that the scientific and technical revolution itself has entered a new stage. One of the basic principles in our party's activities has always been and will remain that of paying tireless and utmost attention to the objective process of dynamic development of production forces. In the final account, their growth means higher labor efficiency, a more economical utilization of means of production, upgrading production quality, ensuring the better satisfaction of the needs of the people and accelerating the cycle of intensive expanded reproduction. In this case we invariably proceed from the fact that man is the main productive force.

It is thanks to man's creative toil that science is becoming the main intensification factor; the power of the human mind is materialized in technology and the use of the achievements of science as the accumulated production experience of the people leads to the conservation of working time, power and materials and the creation of more efficient labor tools. Under present circumstances science is not simply one of the components in the growth of efficiency but its main and decisive factor.

The scientific and technical revolution means that science and human production experience have reached a level at which quantity converts into new quality. Scientific knowledge is used today on an unparalleled scope, imbuing the entire national economy and the other areas of social life.

Advanced or so-called key technologies offer broad opportunities for attaining higher labor productivity and resource conservation. The main qualitative new feature of SED economic strategy is that such technologies are based on the further development of the GDR toward intensification. This is not to say that other technologies lose their role. However, it is precisely through the use of advanced technology, which is gradually penetrating all areas of the national economy, that the decisive possibilities of the economy are revealed.

Making intensification comprehensive and setting a firm base under it are the most complex and serious part of the overall task of converting intensive expanded reproduction into a permanent foundation for economic progress of exceptional importance. This requires sources not for one-time but steady action. The demand of combining the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution with the advantages of socialism is both a challenge and an opportunity for the implementation of this objective.

SED economic strategy is based on the fact that the scientific and technical revolution reflects the objective course of development of production forces. It ascribes to this development unparalleled dynamism and gives it new quality status. Its main factor is that the extensive use of scientific discoveries in production, i.e., their economic utilization, becomes the base for the steady dynamic growth of the economy. This can be achieved by discovering essentially new opportunities for more productive and, above all, creative human toil. As data processing technology, based on microelectronics, develops as the so-called "fourth part" of what Marx described as large-scale machine output and penetrates it, the role of man in the production process changes. Man becomes less and less a simple production unit and increasingly develops comprehensive technological areas under his control. Naturally, here it is a question of developing trends and any simplification, not to mention utopian concepts that man will "march along" the production process, are simply out of place.

The main feature is that with the creation of key technologies, microelectronics in particular and its use in industrial and personal computers, and of systems and contemporary means for automatic designing and control, we acquire further potential for productivity. Man's knowledge is fed to the machine's memory as information and software. Figuratively speaking, it "materializes," thus eliminating routine mental work in controlling complex processes and shorten the time for their implementation.

A characteristic manifestation of this trend is the use of microprocessors and the creation of computerized workplaces for production designing and control. Computers, based on microelectronics, become a direct tool of designers and technologists, which helps them to save a great deal of time in such work and, at the same time, try a number of technological variants and select the optimal one. Currently, the GDR national economy has 18,000 such automated workplaces, which means that their number doubled in a single year. The plan calls for doubling this amount in 1987. During the present 5-year period a total of 90,000 automated workplaces for designers and technologists will be opened, which will considerably increase the labor efficiency of 300,000 to 400,000 workers.

However, all of this is related not only to the direct increase in labor productivity. At the same time, a new skill potential is developing, for all those who are dealing with modern computers, as they master new knowledge, particularly in the field of information, must also make even more profound design and technological decisions. The influence of this additional potential on the economy would be difficult to estimate accurately. It is clear, however, that it is of invaluable significance in the comprehensive struggle for upgrading overall production efficiency and improving production quality.

Higher labor productivity can be achieved also with the installation of flexible automated systems, particularly in machine building, the electrical engineering and electronic industries and other processing sectors. As a rule, they are combinations based on the mechanics of traditional equipment and elements of microelectronic control; combined, they lead to something new:

highly efficient machine systems. Naturally, they include information on their operation, introduced into the computer as software, and a combination of machine tools with robots. This basically changes the very nature of the overall technological process, including its economic aspect. The results prove that labor productivity in such sectors can be increased by factors ranging from two to eight. At the same time, as an intermediary solution or an approximation of this level of automation, a variety of forms of equipment rationalization and updating are tested by adding to them new electronic control systems. One of the distinguishing features in modern machine building is the production of small series of equipment in order to react efficiently, flexibly and economically to changing market requirements.

The implementation of SED economic strategy also presumes attaining higher economic indicators, which means working with total dedication, reducing production costs, increasing the output of new better quality items, consistent with the needs of the national economy and the population and the foreign market. GDR industry as a whole has been issued the very responsible assignment of updating output on an annual basis by 30 percent and, for consumer goods, 30 to 40 percent. In 1985 this indicator had reached 27.5 percent.

In accordance with the requirements of the 11th SED Congress, the broad scale updating of output should be oriented toward world standards. The leading industrial sectors must now reach the cutting edge of the contemporary production process and, wherever possible, exceed this limit, and open new paths in the development of scientific and technical progress. The SED is directing industrial workers toward observing objectively existing international criteria, comparing their own work against them and organizing and managing production updating in such a way that new items have higher consumer qualities and yield tangible economic results in industrial and consumer use. Any attempts at a formalistic approach in this important area is nipped in the bud. This is achieved through strict laws aimed at ensuring high quality and intensifying quality control, and the practice of regularly assessing the consistency of an item with one of superior quality and levying economic penalties on enterprises.

The more thorough processing of initial products is inseparably related to the struggle for quality. In upgrading the scientific and technical standard of goods and improving quality and lowering specific outlays of consumed raw materials, value per unit of material can be increased. In this case we must use existing, although limited, domestic raw material resources. After the respective production stages have been crossed, the end product comes out enriched by highly skilled labor. Increasingly, deep processing is achieved also with the help of key technologies, microelectronics, biotechnology and others in particular.

The further intensification of scientific and technical and economic cooperation between the GDR and the USSR, which was given a new impetus at the 3 October 1986 Moscow meeting between E. Honecker and M.S. Gorbachev, is a firm component of all SED economic strategy. Today we can say that cooperation between the GDR and the USSR has reached a tremendous scale unparalleled in the world. It has assumed the nature of close cooperation in

science, technology and production. This is based, above all, on the agreement initialed last November by the GDR and the USSR on direct scientific and technical and production relations among GDR combines, enterprises and organizations and Soviet associations, enterprises and organizations, and the creation of joint collectives of specialists from our two countries. All of this is an inseparably part of the active contribution which the GDR is making to the implementation of the Comprehensive Program for Scientific and Technical Progress of CEMA Members Until the Year 2000.

The nature of the economic strategy aimed at the utilization of quality factors in increasing intensively expanded reproduction must be consistent with the management, planning and cost accounting system. Its improvement, as was emphasized at the 11th SED Congress, presumes readiness to accept anything that is progressive, rejection of old habits and active and creative search for new solutions. In formulating these tasks, the SED proceeds from the fact that a developed socialist planned economic system has been organized in the GDR, which has practically proved its efficiency, dynamism and flexibility. Its elements and tools are aimed at the implementation of party economic strategy. It is on this basis that management, planning and cost accounting are being improved further, resting on the proven principle of democratic centralism. This principle links centralized state management and planning to the growing creative sectorial and territorial initiative of collectives. In other words, it is a question of providing maximal scope for applying the possibilities and advantages of socialist ownership in contemporary large-scale industrial output.

In this area the SED relies on the combines, which are becoming a powerful bridgehead for the economically efficient development and application of key technologies. We must see to it that combines organically blend science with production and have the necessary scientific potential for reconstruction, designing and use of new technologies and their own rationalization capacities. The interweaving of science with production is also achieved through cooperation between combines and institutions of the GDR Academy of Sciences and higher educational institutions, based of economic contracts. It is thus that the most significant intellectual potential of the country is becoming increasingly involved in efforts to attain the highest world standards in output and high economic results. We are successfully following this path.

The creation of combines is the result of the creative application of the theory of the Marxist-Leninist classics on the socialization of labor. Marx and Engels proved that the objective process of socialization under the conditions of large-scale machine output is inseparably related to combining a variety of partial operations, manifested in the concentration and centralization of capital leading to the founding of shareholding companies. V.I. Lenin proved that capitalist socialization of labor and production by large monopolies and trusts takes society very close to socialism. The further strengthening of the social nature of labor, this time on a socialist basis, offers essentially new opportunities for upgrading the efficiency of utilization of labor and materials. The task of putting on the service of socialism the achievements of the scientific and technical revolution in its new stage required the formulation of respective forms of the process of labor

socialization which is developing under the conditions of public ownership. The combines are one such form. Their further development is the main trend in perfecting socialist production relations in the GDR and making them consistent with the qualitatively new stage reached in production forces.

The GDR was able to establish 150 combines under central administration following a lengthy process of development in industry and construction. They consist of enterprises working on the basis of a plan, with cost accounting and responsibility for the results of their activities. The combines include all capacities which are of decisive importance in the manufacturing of the finished product, including scientific research and experimental design, developing possibilities for improving the efficient use of contemporary technologies and facilities for the production of the necessary set of complementing parts and assemblies. The combines also include marketing organizations with their foreign trade enterprises and firms.

A combine is headed by a general director who is personally responsible to the party and the state for the implementation of the national economic plans. Intensive expanded reproduction must be achieved by increasing labor efficiency and using the combine's sources of financing, further increases in labor productivity, reducing specific outlays of power and materials and making better use of industrial equipment. This is achieved, above all, with the efficient organization of the scientific and technical potential and the accelerated production of means of rationalization, which enable us rapidly to master the production of new items and use of new technologies, and to update production assets. The development of mass initiative in the course of the socialist competition, headed by the trade unions, also plays a major part in this process.

As the combines continue to develop special attention will be paid to the quantitative and qualitative increase in the production of means of rationalization. This applies above all to the use of microelectronics and development of the collective's own software. The production of complementing items, which greatly determine the quality of finished goods, is increasingly becoming a structural component of reproduction within the combines. This applies above all to casting. It is only thus that commodities can be updated and the necessary pace and quality of manufacturing, consistent with global standards, achieved.

All of this is aimed at perfecting the organization of reproduction as a whole and of all of its constituent stages. There are no strict divisions between the stages of scientific research, technical developments and the production and marketing of goods, including the resulting earnings. These factors are most closely interlinked. Practical experience teaches that the functioning of the national economy becomes more efficient the more we are able to ensure from the very beginning the organic link among the individual stages in the reproduction cycle. The formulation of national economic balances plays a most important role in solving this problem on the scale of the country's economic complexes. On the level of economic units it is achieved through economic relations. The main function of the combines, as the backbone of the socialist planned economy of the GDR is to consolidate the objective interaction among the individual phases of the reproduction process with the

help of unified management and through economic means. Whatever is good for the national economy should be good for the combines, enterprises and other economic units. Closely related to state management and planning are other cost accounting features, such as prices, credits and interest rates, used in such a way as to make combines and enterprises economically interested in efficient management. The existence of commodity, value and money under socialism is an objective fact. It is precisely through these categories and with their help, on the basis of a plan, that economic relations are established among combines, enterprises and other economic units.

The planned management of the GDR's economy combines in a state of organic unity material and financial planning, the planning of consumer value and production cost. Management, state centralized planning, cost accounting and economic incentive are steadily developed as an integral system with widespread internal relations. Its improvement is aimed, in the final account, at the greatest possible enhancement of the creative initiative of the working people and achieving high economic results on the basis of intensification. In this area socialist competition plays a major part.

Extensive work in the implementation of economic strategy is developing, under SED guidance, in the course of establishing close ties with the working people in the country, based on reciprocal trust. At its 3rd Plenum, the Central Committee noted that the resolutions of the 11th SED Congress set for our activities new and stricter requirements. In all areas of social life they have triggered the extensive initiative of the masses, proving their understanding of the fact that high economic results are a reliable foundation for our party's policy, which is aimed at ensuring the good of the people, the comprehensive strengthening of socialism and safeguarding peace.

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## WITH FAITH IN REVOLUTIONARY RUSSIA

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[Review by V. Sarbey, doctor of historical sciences, professor, of the book "Karl Marks i Revolyutsionnaya Rossiya" [Karl Marx and Revolutionary Russia] by R.P. Konyushaya. Second expanded edition. Politizdat, Moscow, 1985, 344 pp]

[Text] Marx's views on Russia, on the processes which were developing within it and on its historical future have been studied by a number of Soviet and foreign historians for several decades. This most important topic is developed profoundly and comprehensively by Doctor of Historical Sciences R.P. Konyushaya in the work under review. Unlike previous writings, based essentially on the published works of the founders of scientific communism, this monograph is written on the basis of the totality of available sources. It makes use of Marx's published works, letters about Russia, manuscripts, notes on Russian books he read, and bibliographic data. The author has paid particular attention to manuscripts which she studied for a number of years and which she prepared for publication in the "Marx and Engels Archives," published by the CPSU Central Committee Institute of Marxism-Leninism, and which are now profoundly analyzed in her new book. The second edition of this work has been substantially expanded as a result of the author's study of the ever-increasing availability of sources and historiographic successes.

Marx's manuscript legacy most clearly confirms his exceptional interest in the situation of the Russian popular masses and the process of expropriation of the peasantry, rapid development of capitalism and extensive shaping of a proletariat, thus creating the prerequisites not only for a democratic but also a socialist revolution--a "Russian Commune," as Marx and Engels described it (see K. Marx and F. Engels, "Soch." [Works], vol 19, p 252). In Lenin's words, their statements on the revolution in Russia were filled with a bright faith "in its powerful and universal significance" ("Poln. Sobr. Soch" [Complete Collected Works], vol 15, p 247).

One of the book's main virtues is the description of Marx's creative laboratory and the recreation of the process of his scientific studies in the 1870s and beginning of 1880s. The author has used Marx's work notebooks, excerpts of book read by him, and notes and comments tracing the path followed by Marx, leading to his conclusions and summations. She describes Marx's

great efforts to find the socioeconomic reasons and potential power of the forthcoming "tremendous social revolution" in Russia (op. cit., vol 32, p 549). The objective of this revolution was to remove tsarism, which was one of the main bulwarks of European reaction, and thus actively to contribute to the struggle waged by the proletariat throughout Europe. The situation in a country in which a people's revolution of inordinate power and scope was ripening, the heroic struggle waged by the Russian revolutionaries and the appearance of revolutionary organizations were all facts which led the classics of Marxism to believe that it was precisely in Russia that "events of decisive significance" for all of Europe would take place (see op. cit., vol 19, p 158).

On the basis of extensive data, some of which never used previously, the author describes the relations between Marx and Engels and representatives of several generations of the Russian revolutionary movement. Marx established a close relationship with several Russian revolutionaries raised in the ideas of N.G. Chernyshevskiy, such as G.A. Lopatin, P.L. Lavrov, N.I. Utin, Ye.L. Tomanovskaya-Dmitriyeva and others, in the course of joint activities in the First International. Its Russian members drew the particular attention of the leaders of the international proletariat, who were trying to include the Russian revolutionary movement in the common stream of the international proletarian struggle. With their criticism of the populist outlook, which predominated at that time in Russia, Marx and Engels helped leaders who were capable of self-critical analysis to review their concepts and to master the ideas of scientific socialism.

This book proves that the conclusions drawn by Marx and Engels on revolutionary Russia, filled with optimism and historical perspicacity and vitality, based on a truly scientific dialectical-materialistic study, are of permanent significance. They are particularly relevant in connection with the interpretation of 70 years of experience of the Great October Revolution.

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## BOOKSHELF

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## CHRONICLE

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[Text] A roundtable meeting on the topic of "Man is the Main Factor," sponsored jointly by the journals KOMMUNIST, KOMMUNIST UKRAINY and FILOSOFSKA DUMKA, was held in Kiev on 20-21 January.

A broad range of problems related to the comprehensive study of man as the main value of socialism and the decisive force in accelerating the country's socioeconomic development were discussed. The participants focused their debates on the theoretical and practical problems of enhancing the human factor at the present complex and crucial stage in the life of socialist society.

Participating in the debates were F.M. Rudich, head of the science and schools department, CP of the Ukraine Central Committee, A.V. Myalovitskiy, editor in chief of KOMMUNIST UKRAINY, K.M. Sytnik, vice president of the UkSSR Academy of Science and UkSSR Academy of Sciences Academician, V.I. Shinkaruk, director of the UkSSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Philosophy and USSR Academy of Sciences corresponding member, and other scientists, and party, Komsomol and economic workers, men of culture and journalists.

An expanded report on the roundtable meeting will be published in a forthcoming issue in this journal.

A readers' conference was held in Kiev on 21 January, attended by professors and instructors of Kiev State University imeni T.G. Shevchenko and the Institute for Upgrading the Skills of Social Science Teachers of Kiev State University.

The economists, historians and representatives of other humanities, who spoke at the meeting, noted as a positive fact that starting with number 13 (1986) the journal had begun a section on "Discussions and Debates," in which a variety of opinions on topical problems of our life are discussed and compared. According to the participants in the meeting, materials of roundtable meetings, sponsored by the journal's editors, are very popular with the readers.

A number of topics were mentioned at the conference to which, from the readers' viewpoint, the journal should pay attention. They include the development of criticism and self-criticism, the more efficient use of the dialectical method in contemporary political economy studies, problems of periodization of the history of Soviet society, evaluations of contemporary processes in the development of the arts and literature, etc.

A report on the readers' conference will be published.

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